The Pilot

THAT

WEATHER'D THE STORM.

AN ATTEMPT

TO RECORD THE

POLITICAL PRINCIPLES,

SENTIMENTS, AND MOTIVES,

OF THE

Right Hon. William Pitt.

NATUS 1759—OBIIT 1806

Non sibi, sed Patriæ vixit

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DEDICATED TO THE

MEMBERS OF THE PITT CLUB,

AND

TO EVERY ENGLISHMAN OF CONGENIAL SENTIMENTS,

IN RESPECT FOR THEIR HONORABLE EFFORTS TO PERPETUATE THE PRINCIPLES, NAME, AND GLORY, OF THE

BEST OF PATRIOTS, AND THE GREATEST OF STATESMEN,

BY THEIR OBEDIENT HUMBLE SERVANT,

Plutarch.

PREFACE.

THE succeeding Letters aspire neither to the importance of History, nor attempt the detail of Biography, the utmost stretch of the Author's vanity, can only anticipate for them partial approbation; and, as a literary composition, he will feel flattered, should the Reviewers condescend to point out such errors, as may conduct him to improvement, in any future work, in which his inclination may *prompt* him to engage.

Educated *in* the *principles of* Mr. PITT, *and confirmed in his early* prepos-

sessions, by contemplating the resplendent talents of so great a man, the writer is aware, that the warmth of an *enthusiast may occasionally* be *conspicuous*, in this imperfect tribute to a memory, that must be dear to every admirer of high intellectual attainments; but although an enthusiast, he has the consolation *to* reflect, *that* the sentiments which his epistles develop, are not the promulgation of a venal pen, but the faithful emanations of the heart.

In the speeches of Mr. PITT, he has been studiously concise, and declined distinguishing the extracts, in consequence of having endeavoured, in most instances, to convey the sentiments of the orator, rather than the language of Parliamentary Reporters, which would have given his Work more the appearance of compilation than originality.

The zeal of a Partizan he has repressed as much as possible, and refrained, with

caution, from personal invective. The devoted admirer of Mr. PITT, and his colleagues, cannot, but by the most egregious sophistry, even affect to think amicably of the principles of Mr. FOX, and his associates; and upon this point, the Author will be found consistent, without, however, allowing too much rein to prejudice, or arrogating infallibility to his own political doctrines.

He has assumed "ILLUMINISM" as the excitement to all Mr. PITT's arrangements, connected with the events of the French Revolution; and in so regarding his motives, he feels satisfied he cannot be accused of hyperbole in denominating him the Champion of Christianity—of Freedom—and Political independence.

Those who judge from results only, will condemn the measures of Mr. PITT. Those who are influenced by comparison, will find, in his Memoirs, much cause for exultation.—Those who love [illegible]

and disinterestedness, will attach some estimate to this unostentatious volume, as containing a sublime instance of two qualities the most rare in human nature.

"*The Pilot that Weather'd the Storm.*"

LETTER I.

————— From a stem
So sacred ne'er could worthier Scion spring
Than this MILTIADES, whose aid, 'ere long,
The Chiefs of Thrace, already on their ways,
Sent by the inspir'd fore-knowing Maid, who sits
Upon the Delphic Tripod, shall implore
To wield the sceptre, and the rural wealth
Of fruitful Chersonesus to protect
With arms and laws.

AKENSIDE.

WHEN the Statesman sinks into unoffending dust, the virulence of party ceases, and, in admiration of transcendent talents, political prejudices and antipathies are forgotten. Such, at least, are the generous sentiments bestowed upon the memory of the man, whose colossal influence in the Councils of the British Nation had so long astonished the world.

From all the calamities of the last fifty years; from convulsions at home, and assaults from abroad, to the great Earl of CHATHAM, and his immortal Son, we can alone attribute, under Divine Providence, our singular exemption. To them, also, we owe the integrity of our Constitution, the independence of our Country,

the preservation of our Property, and of our Civil, and Religious, Privileges.

The Sire has long since rested in an honourable grave, and all the glories of the sculptured marble decorate his hallowed sepulchre. The Son, alas! is now stretched lifeless, amidst funereal pomp, awaiting the last sad service of his grateful countrymen.

I saw the Father fall, the exhausted champion of our rights and liberties; but the successor to his patriotic labours, I have traced from youth to manhood, and am destined to witness the insatiable tomb swallow, prematurely, the last worthy scion of so glorious a stock.

An abler pen than mine will, doubtless, soon be occupied in recording the history of this extraordinary individual; but in the mean time, should the memoranda in my possession tend to illustrate his career to your present satisfaction, it will give me infinite pleasure.

William Pitt was educated under the immediate eye of his Father, whose noble principles he rapidly imbibed, and completed his studies under the successive tutorage of Dr. Wilson, Canon of Windsor, and Dr. Prettyman, Bishop of Lincoln. His abilities assumed a conspicuous character upon whatever branch of learning he entered, and on quitting the University his proficiency remained proverbial.

His early views were directed to the Bar and the Senate; but his first Speech in Parliament, at the age of twenty-two, was attended with such unequivocal *eclat*, and was succeeded by such overtures from the then contending parties, that his ambition became suddenly inflamed, and he selected the path of fame in prefer-

ence to that of emolument, which his first essay on the Western Circuit promised

At this period 1781, the situation of the country was peculiarly gloomy In Europe an armed neutrality had been formed against her naval dominion, by the Northern Powers, and her Southern neighbours coalesced to succour her disobedient Colonies, which were in rebellion in America, and threatened emancipation from their parent State In Asia a combination of native Princes, had made successful inroads upon her provinces, whilst her domestic tranquillity was interrupted by the enthusiasm of a young Nobleman,* who had excited the populace to the most unwarrantable aggressions against the laws and public safety

Indeed, such was the accumulation of her misfortunes that it was confidently predicted, and universally believed, she had reached the climax of her glory that zenith of grandeur, and importance, from which Greece and Rome, and other nations of antiquity, so precipitately fell Such an æra, however, was the most propitious, to the energies of an ardent mind, and the young Patriot seized on it with avidity

PLUTARCH

* Lord GEORGE GORDON

" The Pilot that Weather'd the Storm."

LETTER II.

> What! herd with men my honest soul disdains,
> Men who with servile zeal are forging chains
> For Freedom's neck, and lend a helping hand
> To spread destruction o'er my native land.
>
> CHURCHILL.

THE commanding eloquence of Mr. PITT never failed to rivet the attention of the House, and carried with it such a preponderance, as had never been previously witnessed within the walls of St. Stephen's. Such an auxiliary became consequently inestimable to either party, and no sooner was a change of Ministry contemplated, than he was solicited to accept an official situation. This flattering overture, however, he respectfully declined, judiciously concluding that, from the irreconcilable principles of the individuals the Marquis of ROCKINGHAM had selected for his colleagues, it was impossible unanimity of sentiment could long prevail; and of course, that with such associates, he could neither anticipate any acquisition of honour to himself, or advantage to his country.

Four short months confirmed this opinion; and upon the death of the Marquis, new arrangements being indispensable, and every obstacle removed, which

had before induced him (Mr PITT) to resist the persuasion of his friends, at the age of less than twenty-four years, he was nominated to the arduous, and responsible, office, of Chancellor of the Exchequer

The nation, Europe, the whole world, were astonished at the elevation of so young a man to a post so awful and dangerous, but an inherent genius, a vigorous conception, an undaunted spirit, and, above all, conscious integrity, animated and protected him amidst every difficulty The attacks of his opponents he sustained with intrepidity, and retorted with dignity The nervous eloquence of Mr FOX could not intimidate, nor the sublime rhetoric of BURKE deceive him He first foiled them by arguments fraught with truth, and just reasoning, delivered with mildness, modesty, and devoid of presumption and then, with becoming indignation, réprobated that memorable instance of apostacy, which united his opponents—a coalition which stands on record as the most notorious, for profligacy of principle, ever exhibited

But it was not in a solitary instance only that his antagonists betrayed their inconsistency, even the very measures recommended by themselves, when adopted by Mr PITT, were precipitately condemned, with the utmost malice and invective Peace—Peace on any terms, for any period, to save the country from absolute despondency, had been the cry for many preceding months, nay, a Resolution had passed the House of Commons, declaring the advisers of protracted warfare, *Enemies to his* MAJESTY *and the Country* — Yet, when by indefatigable exertions, the young Minister had effected the object of universal solicitude, he found his Administration in a minority, and the Peace,

so anxiously desired on any terms, severely censured.—Thus did the most unnatural combination that ever disgraced political history, drive a zealous and faithful servant from the confidence of his Sovereign; but not without leaving an impression upon the House, highly gratifying to the sensibility of his upright, honest heart.

The concluding sentiments of his Speech, delivered in reply to Mr. Burke, more particularly called forth a burst of general acclamation.---High situation and great influence (he observed) were desirable objects to most men, and objects which he was not ashamed to pursue, and which he was ever solicitous to possess, whenever they could be acquired with honour, or retained with dignity. But even these, he could relinquish the moment his duty to his country, his character, and his friends, rendered such a sacrifice necessary. You may take from me, Sir, the privileges and emoluments of place, but you cannot, and you shall not take from me those habitual, and warm regards, for the prosperity of Great Britain, which constitute the honor, the happiness, and the pride of my life.

PLUTARCH.

"*The Pilot that Weather'd the Storm.*"

LETTER III.

> Thou art so far before,
> That swiftest wing of recompence is slow
> To overtake thee. Would thou hadst less deserv'd,
> That the proportion both of thanks and payment
> Might have been mine! only I've left to say,
> More is thy due, even more than all can pay.
>
> SHAKSPEARE.

The conduct of Mr. Pitt, during the interval between his retirement from office, and re-assumption of Administration, fully confirmed the truth of those sentiments he so eloquently expressed, upon relinquishing the situation of Chancellor of the Exchequer.

His first effort was to accomplish a Reform in the elective system. With this view, he proposed the disenfranchisement of every borough when a majority of the voters, should be convicted, of flagrant corruption; reserving, however, to the minority, a right of suffrage for the county in which the disenfranchised borough was situated:—and, secondly, that the Knights of the Shires, and Representatives of the Metropolis, should be increased. These questions were all negatived by considerable majorities, a circumstance which he did not long lament, and, experience convinced him, either

of their insufficiency to the object sought, or the danger attendant upon innovation; if otherwise, we must attribute the silence he preserved upon these topics, when possessed of the most powerful influence, to the great agitation of the times, which rendered infinite caution necessary, in admitting infringements upon ancient establishments.

But the most important subject that engaged his attention, was the discussions which arose from the communications, made by the Secret Committee, upon the Affairs of India. This memorable Report reproached the Company at home with every species of imbecility and mismanagement; and their servants in Hindostan, from the Governor-General to the Subaltern Officers, with wanton abuse of military authority, the most violent and inhuman policy towards the Native Princes, and individuals; and the perversion of every institute of Justice, to purposes of personal aggrandisement and malicious gratification.

These serious accusations, sanctioned by the respectable authority of a Parliamentary Committee, encouraged Mr. Fox to bring forward those Acts, which excited so much agitation in the public mind, but more particularly amongst the Corporate and Chartered Companies, and which finally caused himself and colleagues to be expelled from the Cabinet.

These Bills were calculated to subvert *in toto* the privileges of the India Company, and, by transferring its powers, and patronage, into the hand of the Minister, to erect an influence above the Throne itself, and thereby annihilate, in effect, the monarchial branch of the constitution. Notwithstanding all these objections, the Right Hon. Mover still had the temerity to persist, and

absolutely carried them with graceless exultation through the Lower House

But Mr PITT, indefatigable in his exertions, and unawed by the fearful majorities against which he had to contend, never permitted his antagonist to triumph over his defeats, by betraying the least symptom of despondency, or departing from that cool deliberate rule of action, which was through life, the characteristic of his great mind The splendid talents, intrepid spirit, and boundless ambition of Mr FOX (to use the expression of Mr DUNDAS) only inspired his juvenile competitor with accumulated vigour, and imparted fresh energy to that eloquence which daily electrified the Senate with orations, emphatic as it was in the nature of language to produce But upon a faction obstinately bent on wrong, and outrage, no impression was to be made By a dereliction of principle, they had acquired their power—in error they commenced its operation—and in error they persisted, against every remonstrance of their Sovereign and their Country

Upon the objectionable Bills being rejected by the Lords, in consequence, as it was conjectured, of individual interference with the Monarch, the mortified Ministers brought forward and carried a resolution in the Commons, declaring it a *high crime and misdemeanor* to attempt influencing the proceedings of Parliament by the report of any private sentiments of his MAJESTY This motion, which struck at the very root of the KING's prerogative, Mr PITT resisted with his accustomed zeal, but still in vain, and having passed, it was immediately followed up by another Act, more obnoxious, deciding it to be imperative on the

"*The Pilot that Weather'd the Storm*"

LETTER IV.

——————— Blow ye winds!
Ye waves! ye thunders! roll your tempests on,
Shake ye old pillars of the marble sky
Till all its orbs and all its worlds of fire
Be loosen'd from their seats; yet still serene
Th' unconquer'd mind looks down upon the wreck,
And ever stronger as the storms advance,
Firm thro' the closing ruin holds his way,
When nature calls him to the destin'd goal

AKENSIDE

It could not but be expected that a House of Commons which had proved themselves so inimical to the Royal Prerogative, should exert all their vigour in opposition to an individual, brought into power by the resolute assertion of that authority, which they affected to consider, and attempted to render, illegal and nugatory

Never, perhaps, had there occurred a crisis so serious in political affairs —A Minister, whose talents had prepossessed the Sovereign in his favour, and whose services had attracted the public acclamation was daily exposed to the arduous task of contending against a majority, to have all his projects indiscriminately thwarted, the important operations of his duty inter-

rupted, and the whole system of Government disorganised, by the petulence of party, and the alarming struggles of a disappointed faction, to force the Sovereign to adopt the alternative of recalling men to his Cabinet, of whose motives he could not but be jealous--- whose principles were inconsistent with the welfare of his people, and whose ambition threatened the very existence of the Constitution, over which he presided as Chief Magistrate of the Realm. During the disgraceful contention thus excited, Bills of importance were suspended, the customary and essential routine of Parliamentary proceedings paralized, nothing prevailed but schism and distraction, vehement invective and party rancour, which made every good man tremble, and every wicked one congratulate himself upon the approach of that state of anarchy, when the relaxed energies of justice afford impunity to crime.

Amidst this tumult of sentiment terminated the Sessions of 1783, when it was fervently hoped the recess would either accomplish a reconciliation between the discordant parties, or procure the Minister such an accession of strength, as to enable him to pursue, without interruption, such measures as his wisdom should suggest, for the re-establishment of the dignity and honour of the kingdom; which, from the conduct of its Parliament, was rapidly sinking in the esteem, and admiration, of its political connections.

But the influence of contending interests being only more nearly poised, without preponderating on the side of Administration, the discussions assumed a still more melancholy character. Days, weeks, and months were shamefully lavished on the indulgence of the most gross, ungentlemanly, and vindictive personal-

ties— in harrassing the Throne with perpetual addresses, as monotonous in substance as they were selfish in their *objects*, and in fabricating every species of annoyance which could irritate the Premier to an act of hasty indignation that might eventually lead to the ruin of his fame and power Mr PITT, however, preserved the composure of his mind with a constancy unprecedented, defended himself with all the ardour of innocence and conscious virtue, uncontaminated by the calumny, the malice, and the insulting raillery of his enemies

Upon the subject of his privileges the Monarch was equally invincible and the Ministry continuing perfectly impenetrable *both to secret artifice and open* violence overtures for a compromise were at length proposed but as Mr PITT s instant resignation was demanded as an indispensible preliminary, the offers were rejected with the contempt they merited

Addresses were *then once* more resorted to but the Petitioners were again informed, that no remonstrance could be attended to by his MAJESTY, unless some specific charge was brought forward, or some obvious criminality rendered apparent, to justify him in dismissing from his service the Members of an *Administration* whose *appointment* had received *the unequivocal* approbation of his subjects

Chagrined and frustrated at every point, but infatuated with a hopeless pursuit they had the temerity to refuse the supplies This, however, instead of appalling *their antagonist* only *operated* as the harbinger of victory, and rallied the whole nation to his standard The House of Peers awakened to a sense of the dreadful abyss, towards which the unjustifiable extremities

adopted by the Opposition, had conducted the country, entered into strong resolutions, expressive of their determination to support the constitutional prerogative of the Crown: this was the signal for the expression of public feeling that followed, and which ratified the choice of his MAJESTY, by addresses from every class of his people, the most consolatory and grateful to his wounded feelings.

Thus, the mischief progressively accomplished its own remedy, the supplies were no longer withheld; a prorogation quickly followed; and dissolution being unanimously called for, the champion of regal right enjoyed the triumph due to that admirable firmness, temperance, and prudence which gave such satisfactory promise of those transcendant talents, which continued for so many subsequent years, to irradiate the Legislative Assembly of the Empire, and as they spread his own glory, so they disseminated, into the remotest regions of the earth, the renown of the nation he adored.

PLUTARCH.

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LETTER V.

Thus by degrees thy cause superior grew,
And the great end appeared at last in view,
We heard the people in thy hopes rejoice,
We saw the Senate bending to thy voice,
While venal faction, struck with new dismay,
Shrunk at thy frown, and, self abandon'd, lay

AKENSIDE

THE new Parliament assembled on the 18th of May, 1784, when Mr Pitt had the gratification to find the Address carried by a majority of 168, than which nothing could be a more convincing proof of the popularity of his preceding conduct. Mr BURKE, however, not satisfied to permit the objects which had created so much bitterness of sentiment, to pass into oblivion, brought forward a remonstrance against the recent dissolution, but it was received by the House only as the eccentric production of genius, and as a beautiful specimen of the exuberant imagination of the accomplished author

Mr PITT having now obtained complete command of the House, directed his indefatigable abilities to the numerous important objects to which he had from time to time called their attention, and, in the course of the

three following Sessions, succeeded in establishing efficient measures, for the restoration of the sinking credit of the nation, the improvement of the revenue, and the encouragement of commerce. The affairs of India were brought under permanent regulations, and placed upon such a footing as to give a full assurance of that good management and prosperity which has since attended our Asiatic Provinces.

This period was also marked with an act of public justice, to the descendants of the proscribed Nobility of Scotland; the restoration of whose estates, and honours, secured the same unabated loyalty, and attachment, to the existing Government, as had sacrificed the lives, and properties, of their forefathers, in the hopeless cause of the young Pretender.

To the finances, and also to the corruption in the different departments of Government, Mr. PITT devoted his particular attention. The mode of raising loans hitherto had been a great source of patronage, and influence, to the Minister; this he relinquished for the national benefit, by submitting every loan to public competition, the good effects of which have been long admired and felt.

A Board of Commissioners was appointed to enquire into the emoluments, and abuses, in the Public Offices, and the result of this investigation also operated to diminish the Ministerial influence; but Mr. PITT's motives being purely patriotic, he never hesitated to comply with every recommendation, that could promote economy to the State, and virtue in its servants.

The unhappy state of the Sister Island, next excited his solicitude. The severe restrictions upon her commerce had created strong expressions of discontent,

which had increased to an alarming degree, and by the insidious arts of disaffected individuals, threatened the dismemberment of Ireland from the British Crown. To avert these dangers, Mr PITT introduced a Bill into the House of Commons, to sanction certain regulations as to trade and manufactures, which were conceived likely, to facilitate the reciprocal interests of both countries This Bill, however, was negatived by the Irish House of Commons, and so objectionable had it been made to the people, by misrepresentation, distortion, and false reasoning, that its rejection, was celebrated by public illuminations, and other demonstrations of joy

He bore all such disappointments, however, with equal magnanimity, he persevered, as we have since seen, in his efforts to restore tranquillity, and promote the advantage of Ireland, but unfortunately even at the present day there are but faint hopes of such desirable objects being accomplished, causes, political religious, and moral, all appear to combine against her peace and welfare

Always consistent, and never acting with hostility to others, from prejudice or personal antipathy, Mr PITT renewed his attempts at Parliamentary Reform, but with no better success, than when seated on the Opposition Bench There is no doubt, however, but he now became fully convinced of the danger of innovation, and that the transactions which led to such serious consequences in France, completely weaned his mind from a subject, which occasioned him more than usual anxiety.

The project for fortifying the Dock Yards, suggested by the Duke of RICHMOND during the Sessions of Parliament, which commenced its sittings early in 1786, engrossed for a considerable time, the public attention, and in the Senate, was productive of the most

animated discussions. Prejudice, however, was strongly against the plan, and neither the sanction or zeal of Mr. PITT could carry the Bill through. The strength of each party, however, was precisely balanced, but, as is customary, when the division is numerically equal, the SPEAKER gave his casting vote in the negative.

As our naval ensigns, have since rode triumphant in every sea, no necessity has hitherto been apparent, to justify a revival of the question; but it is fair to presume, that in consequence of the nation having dispensed with this precaution, the Minister felt it a duty incumbent upon him, to make the naval force his peculiar care; and consequently to his discrimination in selecting individuals, of indubitable talent, to preside at the Board of Admiralty, and intrepid Commanders, to execute their orders, we owe those splendid achievements, which bestow immortality, on the many gallant heroes who felt it a happy consummation of existence, to fall in defence of their country.

This was the æra likewise, when Mr. PITT laid the foundation, of his grand system of finance, by the establishment of the Sinking Fund; its operation, the present state of the Government securities, and the national debt, demonstrate. This record alone will endear him to posterity. Our children, as they feel their burdens progressively alleviated, will bless the name of PITT; and the enemies to our peace and happiness, our independence and glory, will find their combined efforts vain and insignificant, whilst the integrity of those resources is preserved, which he, (who living, was in himself an host,) left as a legacy to his country, fo he protection and renown, when Providence should withdraw him to eternal rest.

PLUTARCH.

"*The Pilot that Weather'd the Storm.*"

LETTER VI.

'Tis not the babbling of a busy world,
Where praise and censure are at random hurl'd,
Which can the meanest of my thoughts controul,
Or shake one settled purpose of my soul,

As to the public, I dare stand the test,
Dare proudly boast I feel no wish above
The good of England, and my Country's love

CHURCHILL

The splendour of military achievements is requisite to excite the patriotism of some individuals, with others, all honours are estimated worthless, which are unaccompanied by the plaudits of an indiscriminating multitude.

But Mr PITT's emulation consisted in being good, as well as great; whilst covetous of the Statesman's glory, he never forgot the amiable qualities which adorn the Christian Though in war it was his pride to decorate his country's temples, with the trophies of conquered enemies, in peace his happiest labour was to strengthen the bonds of amity, between man and man

The only invincible barrier, to that insatiable thirst for dominion, which had actuated the Sovereigns of France, from time immemorial, had been the British

navy. This obstacle to their tyranny, and aggrandisement, it was conceived, had engendered prejudices, and antipathies, which no concessions ever could eradicate; and that consequently the closer the two nations became united by friendship, and the more they extended their confidence, by the same ratio was the safety and independence of England endangered; her candour, and integrity, being at all times, likely to expose her to fatal injury, from the fickle, faithless, and intriguing disposition of her rival.

Under this impression, Mr. Fox, and his adherents, argued, that the policy of circumscribing the enterprises of the British merchants, in their transactions with France, was imperious; lest, upon an emergency, the Administration, should be driven to the alternative, of sacrificing the national honour, to private interests. Mr. Fox declared his opinion, that the external relations of the two Powers rendered a rivalship, and, in some degree, an enmity between them inevitable; that it was impracticable to cement them, by any measure, which human speculation could devise; nay, he would not hesitate to pronounce, that were such an event possible, it would not be wished for, by any lover of his country,

However honourable such sentiments may be to the heart of an Englishman, and they procured for Mr. Fox his just meed of applause, they certainly inculcate an inhuman doctrine, and are surely irreconcilable, with the benignant institutes of the ALMIGHTY. It was a narrow, and selfish, policy, by which Mr. PITT, thought the nation not worth preserving; and to contend against it, was natural to that magnanimity, which influenced all his actions.

By war, he observed, nations became terrible to each other, and victory bestows a transient affluence, but respect, and permanent prosperity, are concomitants of peace alone and could that be inconsistent with nature or inimical to a nation's welfare, which tended to promote reciprocal affection and confidence? Impossible! Was the necessity of perpetual enmity with France so earnest and so pressing, that for it we were to sacrifice every commercial advantage, which might be expected to result from a friendly intercourse with that country or was a pacific connection between the two kingdoms so highly offensive that even an extension of commerce could not palliate it?

For his part, he disclaimed the opinion that the relation of *any* two powers could be such as to preclude the possibility of an amicable intercourse He admired the eloquence, enriched with the ardent sentiments of a patriotic mind he admired the burst of feeling, which animated the Right Hon Member (Mr Fox) to a display of rhetoric which Athenian eminence, never had surpassed but the accomplishments of the scholar, and national attachments must not allure the Statesman into misconception, or be permitted to cripple the resources of an empire

Such was the tone of the debate, which occurred upon the discussion of Mr Pitt's famous Commercial Treaty with France, which, however, he carried by a great majority

The next object of consequence attempted by the opposition, during the present session (Jan 1787) was a repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts This Mr Pitt, strenuously opposed, as an assault upon the civil, and ecclesiastical, constitution of the kingdom which had been rescued from momentuous danger, by their

adoption. Every consistent indulgence which could be granted the Dissenters, and Papists, would receive his ready acquiescence, but the infringement of a principle, which had been established as just, and equitable, by every state, ancient and modern, was a measure in which he never could concur. Experience had demonstrated the important advantages, connected with the statutes objected to, and for the Legislature to repeal them, immediately that they had secured the tranquillity which it was their object to attain, would be little short of an act of national suicide.

An inauspicious circumstance, at this time very much engaged the attention of parliament. Whether the sudden acquisition of a liberal income had precipitated the Heir Apparent, into inconsiderate expenditure, or he had fallen a prey to evil counsellors, and designing sycophants, it was not perhaps altogether prudent to divulge; but within the space of three years subsequent to his arrival at the age of maturity, he had embarrassed his pecuniary affairs, by debts amounting to 100,000*l.* exclusive of the charges, for embellishing Carlton House, which exceeded 50,000*l.* His MAJESTY disapproving the means by which such an incumbrance had been accumulated, and having peremptorily declined any interference, his ROYAL HIGHNESS, more rash than wise, in order to liquidate the claims of his creditors, instantly reduced his establishment to the footing of a private gentleman. This was, unquestionably, a most unjustifiable step; it was equivalent to a declaration, that since his father would not alleviate his embarrassments, the country should be compelled to do so, or witness, in the Heir to its Crown, whenever he appeared in public, a reproach to its generosity, and national, importance; it was also a

prostitution of the revenue which had been allotted, not to the private purposes and personal gratifications of the Prince, but for the support of the state and dignity of *what he was*, and *what he was destined to be*

The Premier studiously avoided a Parliamentary discussion upon a question so peculiarly delicate, but to restrain the zeal of officious friendship, when seconded by party rancour, was a phenomenon too great for those days, and he was absolutely dared into an investigation, which must have proved as painful to the ROYAL FATHER, the PRINCE, and the People, as even their most inveterate enemies, could have suggested. What consequences would have resulted from a more silent arrangement, it is useless now to conjecture, but the mode attempted to be enforced upon the Minister, led to a train of argument, to conclusions, and surmises, too serious to be rapidly passed over I shall, therefore, reserve them, as the subject for another letter, and, in the sequel, we shall find the same regard displayed by Mr PITT for the individual feelings of his MAJESTY, the same anxiety to draw a veil over the improprieties of the Royal Blood, when public exposition could promote no advantageous purpose; and the same candid, and rigid, adherence to his duty, as a servant of his Sovereign, and his fellow-subjects, which invariably marked the long and arduous career of his brilliant Administration.

PLUTARCH.

"The Pilot that Weather'd the Storm."

LETTER VII.

Of thee, with awe, the rural hearth resounds;
The bowl to thee the grateful subject crowns:
Rous'd, by their labours, from the blest retreat,
Where social ease and public passions meet;
The learn'd recluse, who, oft amaz'd, had read
Of Grecian Heroes, Roman Patriots, dead,
Again ascending treads the civic scene,
To act, and be a man as thou hast been.

AKENSIDE.

THE humiliating situation to which the Heir Apparent had reduced himself, was generally attributed to an unfortunate connection which he had formed with a female, whose fascinations, had acquired such an ascendancy over him, as to cause the most painful anxiety, to the country. Due allowance was to be made for the malignity, and falsehood, which will mingle themselves with common reports, but it was highly expedient, before the debts of his Royal Highness were liquidated, to ascertain the precise nature of this alarming infatuation. Every subject in the nation, was disposed to palliate and forgive, the thoughtless excesses, of a young Prince, surrounded by all the temptations which art and ingenuity could devise, but they felt in-

dignant at its wealth being lavished upon articles of voluptuousness for an ambitious syren

By the Statutes of WILLIAM, and MARY, and his present MAJESTY, it is enacted, that if any Prince or person entitled by birth right to the Throne of Great Britain shall marry a Papist, he shall immediately be disinherited and that any marriage contracted by an individual of the Blood Royal, without the consent of his MAJESTY, shall be null and void

In contempt of these salutary laws, it was publicly rumoured that his Royal Highness had not only proved disobedient in the latter instance, but had absolutely married Mrs FITZHERBERT, who was a Roman Catholic When the calamities with which the Romish superstitions have impressed even our annals are remembered the whisper of such a circumstance, could not but convulse the whole community and, for the safety of the Constitution both in Church and State, an authentic contradiction of the fact was indispensible Mr PITT, therefore, intimated to the friends of the PRINCE, that if they persisted in their intemperate zeal however distressing it might prove to him as an individual, he should discharge his duty to the public, and pursue the subject into all its ramifications therefore the instigators must alone be responsible for its consequences

The Opposition, conceiving this declaration more an act of defiance than as conciliatory, grew disgustingly confident and appeared to derive pleasure in provoking the suspended mischief Mr SHERIDAN asserted that he had authority to court the most minute and rigid enquiry that neither ambiguity, concealment or affected tenderness, would be practised by the PRINCE,

"The Pilot that Weather'd the Storm."

LETTER VII.

Of thee, with awe, the rural hearth resounds;
The bowl to thee the grateful subject crowns:
Rous'd, by their labours, from the blest retreat,
Where social ease and public passions meet;
The learn'd recluse, who, oft amaz'd, had read
Of Grecian Heroes, Roman Patriots, dead,
Again ascending treads the civic scene,
To act, and be a man as thou hast been.

AKENSIDE.

THE humiliating situation to which the Heir Apparent had reduced himself, was generally attributed to an unfortunate connection which he had formed with a female, whose fascinations, had acquired such an ascendancy over him, as to cause the most painful anxiety, to the country. Due allowance was to be made for the malignity, and falsehood, which will mingle themselves with common reports, but it was highly expedient, before the debts of his Royal Highness were liquidated, to ascertain the precise nature of this alarming infatuation. Every subject in the nation, was disposed to palliate and forgive, the thoughtless excesses, of a young Prince, surrounded by all the temptations which art and ingenuity could devise, but they felt in-

dignant at its wealth being lavished upon articles of voluptuousness for an ambitious syren

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who was ready, as a Peer of the Realm, to answer the most pointed interrogatories. Another Member declared he had the sanction of his Royal Highness, to pursue the discussion, without being deterred by the base, and false, rumours, which were so industriously circulated by his enemies.

Mr. Fox, likewise, assured the House, there was no part of the PRINCE's conduct, which he was either afraid, or unwilling, to have investigated in the fullest manner; nay, he wished for publicity, from a consciousness that disclosure would redound to his reputation, and honor; and then, adverting to the marriage, in reply to some remarks from the other side of the House, judiciously directed by the Minister, with an evident view to prevent subterfuge, or equivoque, he observed, " If they allude to certain low and malicious rumours, which have been propagated without doors, *he was authorised to declare them false.* He had thought that a tale, only fit to impose upon the lowest of the vulgar, could not have gained credit for a moment in that House, or with any one, who possessed the most ordinary portion of common sense, and reflection."—The asperity of his langnage, gave his declaration all the force, that could be desired; and the Minister, and the Country heard, with exultation, his concluding sentences.—" He denied the calumny, not only with regard to the effect of certain existing laws, but he denied it *in toto* in point of fact. The fact not only never could have happened legally, but never did happen at all, in any way whatever, and had, from the beginning, been a base, and malicious, falsehood."

Through the developement of this mysterious and unhappy affair was to be seen the faithful features of

that frailty, which is the concomitant of our nature —Men whose wisdom shed a lustre over their country, from motives of personal attachment on one side, and personal enmity on the other, scrupled not deliberately to affirm, that, from the exposition of an aggravated state of concubinage, the most culpable improvidence, and unwarrantable profusion, nothing could redound inconsistent with the Princely character, and the most exalted virtue Yet, that heavy pecuniary obligations had been incurred, and that the connexion alluded to was either too familiar to be moral, or too moral to be legal, no one had the temerity to deny nor could the approval of the intercourse by any man, be considered in a better light, than as bordering on the common vice of courtiers, or emanating from those political dissentions which pervert, in many instances both reason and judgment

Occasionally, however, we are permitted opportunities of contemplating objects more congenial with our self esteem, and vanity Neither the pointed importunities—the irritative taunts—nor the malicious illiberal insinuations of his adversaries, could swerve Mr PITT from the fixed purpose of his heart —Until he had prevailed in inducing the House to dispense with the threatened Motion, which was to plant scorpions in the heart of the Royal Parents, he bore himself with such exemplary patience, such a suavity of disposition, and immaculate integrity, that utterly confounded his enemies and more baffled them, than ever could have been accomplished, by ostentatious eloquence, and angry declamation Thus, having obtained for the public, ample satisfaction on a point, involving their most inestimable privileges, and stifled an enquiry, which pro-

mised only anguish to the SOVEREIGN, he no longer withheld his acquiescence to the measure recommended, although that acquiescence, gratified those who never introduced his name but to accompany it with invective.

Scarcely was one arduous struggle terminated, and one laborious work fulfilled, than new objects arose, to call forth the energies of this extraordinary man. But his comprehensive mind felt no depression under multiplied duties; his genius never relaxed, when the services of the State solicited its active interposition. The solemn enquiry upon the conduct of Mr. HASTINGS, the late Governor General of India, which had been commenced by the usual preliminary proceedings during the last Sessions, was resumed immediately the question, respecting the PRINCE's debts, was disposed of, and the necessary forms, antecedent to an impeachment being brought to an issue, the charges, twenty-two in number, were all carried in the affirmative; and it being a maxim with Mr. PITT, that innocence and rectitude are always advantaged by investigation, he supported the accusation in a speech as luminous and argumentative, as ever flowed from the lips of a British orator, proving himself the advocate of that expanded philanthropy which extends its commisseration with equal sympathy to the oppressed victims of Oriental tyranny, as to the children of misfortune who endure the calamities of our native clime.

This subject, with some less important affairs, concluded the Sessions of 1807, when the country assumed an aspect more cheerful and prosperous, both as to its domestic concerns, and foreign relations, than it had experienced for a considerable lapse of

years But these halcyon days were rendered of short duration, by that revolution, whose desolations still harass the credulous, and degenerate, nations of the Continent, and which, in the autumn of the present year, first displayed those dismal harbingers in the political horizon, that have progressively led to the melancholy events which Europe seems destined yet long to deplore, amidst the ruins of dismembered Empires, and the horrors of protracted war Events, whose consequences are too conspicuous, to need recapitulation, and with which the fame of the Son of CHATHAM will be connected with transcendant brightness to remotest posterity.

PLUTARCH.

"The Pilot that Weather'd the Storm."

LETTER VIII.

——— When headstrong riot hath no curb,
When rage and hot blood are man's counsellors,
When means and lavish manners meet together,
O, with what wings shall his affections fly,
Towards panting peril and oppos'd decay!

SHAKSPEARE.

THE extraordinary effects, which emanated from the French revolution, displayed a field for the exercise of intellectual talent, unexampled in the history of mankind. To what causes, that tremendous event, is to be attributed, speculation has been wearied in conjecturing. A wicked philosophy, may have accelerated the catastrophe; but the most rational manner of accounting for it, appears to arise from the radical defects of a Constitution, which had cherished corruption, and despotism, until the oppressed, became desperate; and the rapid transition, from a grievous tyranny, to the transports, which freedom imparts, plunged the unrestrained enthusiasts, into that abyss of extravagance and horror, which has emitted all the dire misfortunes that have since harrassed their native provinces; and disseminated a baneful influence, wherever civilization has established political intercourse.

It was a moral impossibility, that the principles, inculcated at the commencement of the revolution, could be confined to local operation, as a system which licensed the free range of passion, and appetite, was too seductive, not to ingratiate itself far and wide, and the pernicious doctrine of equality, was too compatible with vulgar ideas, not to threaten an extension of the dilemma, into which it had precipitated the inhabitants of the kingdom that had given it birth To anticipate, therefore, its destructive consequences, was the first duty of a Statesman Mr PITT well knew with what rapid strides, anarchy advances and into what excesses, men, unaccustomed to govern, inevitably fall, he foresaw the political schisms, the new opinions would cause, and, judging from results, it is hardly too much to presume, his prescience discovered, through the clouds of democracy, and unshapen embryos of the demagogues of France, the gradual overthrow of that faith, justice, and integrity, which is indispensible, to preserve the independence of nations, and an equitable participation in the blessings, of providence and we have only to cast our eyes, to the rest of Europe, to be convinced that every sacrifice we have been called upon to make, to resist the torrent of jacobinism, has been productive of a commensurate advantage

But the attention of Mr PITT was diverted, for a time, from distant dangers, by a domestic affliction of the most distressing nature A severe indisposition, which had visited the SOVEREIGN, terminated in a distempered brain, and the functions of his high office being in consequence suspended, a delicate and responsible duty devolved upon the Administration The combined wisdom of our forefathers had not suggested

the propriety of providing against an occurrence of the present melancholy description; and the perplexity was augmented, by the known variance of opinion, existing between the Counsellors of the exalted Personage, whom Nature pointed out as the most suitable Representative of the Royal Authority, and the confidential servants of the afflicted Monarch.

Exhilarated by an unexpected prospect of elevation, the impatient competitors for power, and patronage, announced, without scruple, the proscription of the KING's Ministers, and their own accession to the vacant chairs: but such premature declaration, and the avidity with which they prepared to rush upon the spoils of office, was deprecated by the whole nation; and this indecorous impetuosity, fabricated the toils which retarded their approach, towards the goal, that was to realize all their dreams of grandeur.

Mr. FOX exultingly asserted, that the Heir Apparent possessed an hereditary right to the Regency, without any restraint or *limitation* being placed upon the exercise of the Royal Prerogative. Mr. PITT peremptorily denied the existence of any such privilege; and insisted, that, except from comparative talent, the meanest peasant in the land, had as substantial a claim, to the office of Regent, as his Royal Highness; and, as such an extraordinary position had been advanced, he felt it incumbent on himself to bring the matter to issue by a specific motion. In reply, the Opposition urged the plea of expediency, and evinced an inclination to concede the point, rather than promote delay, by a further agitation of the subject. They advanced argument upon argument, every one more futile and inconsistent than the preceding, to persuade the House not to enter-

tain the promised motion of the Minister; they renounced, they retracted, they acquiesced, they alternately abused, and flattered, denied, and offered a compromise, encouraged any overture, and were ready to subscribe to any recantations, which could induce their adversaries to retire But Mr. PITT penetrated, in a moment, the flimsy veil, by which they attempted to conceal their disgraceful motives, he saw the instability which marked their proceedings, and the apprehensions which terrified them, but he viewed the question, as important, to the future, as well as present, interests of the state, and its decision, required the solemn confirmation of Parliament, that upon a recurrence of a similar fatality, some fixed rule of conduct might stand, upon record, as a precedent for posterity —A flaw had been discovered, in the fundamental laws of the Constitution, and it was irreconcilable with common prudence, to suffer such a defect to remain —The worst consequences might arise, from such a dereliction of the duty of Parliament, whose province it was, to watch over the public peace, to obviate all causes of dissention, and to render the whole system of Government, simple, and perspicuous.

Therefore, in contradiction to the principle of hereditary right, broached by Mr Fox, he moved to the effect, that it was the privilege of the Lords Spiritual, and Temporal, and Commons of Great Britain, lawfully representing the three estates of the realm, to delegate the Royal authority, and to determine the means of giving proper assent and effect to the Acts of Parliament, during any incapacity of the Sovereign; which being carried, he followed up by such restric-

tions as were deemed suitable; to the temporary assumption of Regal power; and, in observing their progress through the House, we shall have abundant reason to lament the loss of a Minister, as inflexibly attached to the interests of his Royal Master, under the most disheartening prospects, as during the meridian splendour of his reign, and whose honesty and disinterestedness will be a criterion for future ages, by which to estimate their honourable men.

PLUTARCH.

The Pilot that Weather'd the Storm."

LETTER IX.

—— O I will
Of private passions all my soul divest,
And take my dearer country to my breast;
To public good transfer each fond desire,
And clasp my Sweden with a lover's fire;
Well pleas'd, the weight of all her burdens bear,
Despise all pleasure, but engross all care;
Still quick to find, to feel my country's woes,
And wake, that millions may enjoy repose.

BROOKE.

It was, perhaps, impossible to have selected a theme more interesting, or more pregnant with important consequences to the nation, than emanated from the debates, which succeeded the motions of the denounced Minister, and, upon recurring to the parliamentary reports of this anxious period, we shall find them abounding with the finest flowers of rhetoric, and those sublime effusions, which bear incontestible evidence, of the affinity of the mortal, to the immortal, spirit; but, unfortunately, the excesses of party mingled splenetic, and vulgar epithets, so profusely with the better qualities, as to have attached the least plea

ing characteristics, to this epoch of our Parliamentary history.

No opportunity escaped the aspiring votaries of the *rising Sun*, for loading their adversary with obloquy; every avenue that could wound his feelings, was sought out with inconceivable industry; every paragraph, of their irrelevant declamations, teemed with the most malicious censure, and disclosed the deadly antipathy which rankled in their breasts. The loyal zeal, which procrastinated their *Hour of Jubilee*, was represented as fastidious, and affected, and persisted in from no other motive, than to gratify a criminal propensity to govern and domineer; his tender cautions, to protect the Throne, were deemed derogatory to the exalted birth, and prejudicial to the political character, of the Heir-Apparent, and designed only to mortify and traduce him: but upon a subject so peculiarly delicate, Mr. Pitt would not permit himself to be provoked into unbecoming recriminations, and seldom occupied the House by condescending to refute the puerile slanders of his enemies. Superior to personal abuse, when he defended himself, he did it without vehemence; continued to urge all his measures with the dignity of a Senator, and the confidence of an experienced Statesman, and never forgot that the Representatives of the People, assembled to legislate for the common weal, not to be deluded by harangues, involving *private interests, and resentments*.

He concluded the arduous task he had selected, in the true spirit of patriotism, by reminding the House, that they had an important privilege to maintain, an essential duty to perform, which neither their allegiance,

nor their affection to their Sovereign, would allow them to wave, and that it was their duty, at this time, unequivocally to declare, and exercise their right, so that it might remain ascertained, beyond the possibility of a question hereafter. As to his being conscious that he did not deserve the favour of the PRINCE, as had been ungenerously insinuated, he could only say, he knew but one way in which he, or any man, could deserve it, by having uniformly endeavoured, in a public situation, to do his duty to the KING, his father, and to the country at large. The truest respect he could pay to his Royal Highness, was to cultivate the interests of that nation, which the ancestors of his family, were called upon to govern, and to watch over the safety of that Constitution, which himself would one day be called upon to protect If, in thus endeavouring to deserve the confidence of the PRINCE, it should appear that he had, in fact, lost it, however painful, and mortifying, that circumstance might be to him, and from whatever cause it might proceed, he should, indeed, regret it, but he would boldly say, it was impossible he ever could repent it.

Amongst the restrictions which the retiring Premier had proposed, it was stipulated that the Royal Household should retain all its state and dignity, that, upon returning reason, the Crown might instantly resume its wonted lustre, and his MAJESTY have as few objects as possible to awaken painful retrospect. But by contrasting the manly sentiments, above recorded, with the language of Mr BURKE, we shall perceive the adherents of the PRINCE, not only attempted to strip the unhappy Monarch of his regal honours, but reviled him

as a victim of offended heaven. "What grace," he observed, "could he now give to the dignity of his Crown? What lustre could he now derive from the splendour of his household? Did they recollect that they were talking of a sick King, of a Monarch smitten by the hand of Omnipotence; that the ALMIGHTY had hurled him from his throne, and plunged him into a condition that drew upon him the pity of the meanest peasant in the kingdom? Ought they, then, at that hour of sickness, and calamity, to clothe his bed with purple?—ought they to make a mockery of him, putting a crown of thorns upon his head, a reed in his hand, and dressing him in a raiment of purple, to cry—"*Hail King of the British.*"

Good GOD! could a British Parliament hear such observations, and not instantly direct all its vengeance against the offender? But the unfeeling orator, who subsequently experienced his proportion of sublunary calamity, is *now no more*; and since that reviled, and insulted, Sovereign still survives to bless his people—buried be *our* indignation!

Ingenious sophistry, may reconcile the absence of human affection, upon the grounds of political expediency, but there appeared so much apathy to the sufferings of the Royal Father, such a decided enmity against his confidential servants, such a fixed determination to introduce a system of Government diametrically opposite, to what himself had designed, attended, at the same time, with so much prodigality, and so little respect to moral ordinations, that, to the distressing scenes they were daily compelled to witness, the

public instinctively applied the words of their great dramatist —

"I stay too long by thee, I weary thee.
Dost thou so hunger for my empty chair,
That thou wilt needs invest thee with mine honours
Before thy hour be ripe? O, foolish youth!
Thou seek'st the greatness that will overwhelm thee,
* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
What! canst thou not forbear me half an hour?
Then get thee gone, and dig my grave thyself,
And bid the merry bells ring to thine ear,
That thou art crown'd, not that I am dead
Let all the tears that should bedew my hearse,
Be drops of balm to sanctify thy head—
Only compound me with forgotten dust,
Give that which gave thee life unto the worms.
Pluck down my officers, break my decrees;
For now a time is come to mock at form
HARRY the Fifth is crowned —Up vanity!
Down Royal state! all you sage Counsellors hence!
And to the English Court assemble now,
From every region, apes of idleness"

Had the administration of affairs, been transferred into the hands, which sought the important trust, without specific limitations, there cannot be a doubt upon the mind of any sensible individual, but the restoration of the rightful Sovereign, would but have been to a nominal power—to a Government totally irreconcilable to his own principles, with every post round the Throne so occupied, as to have left him no discretion, nor any influence over the measures, for which he was to be responsible So that, had a precedent of hereditary right been established, the prerogative upon a similar occurrence, might have been prostituted to

any ambitious purpose, and, in point of fact, the Monarch divested of every attribute of Majesty.— But, happily for the country, the melancholy dispensation, which occasioned such extreme anxiety, was but of short duration, and his MAJESTY's convalescence, putting an end to these alarming controversies, was hailed with those demonstrations of joy, by which a grateful nation, express their obligations to virtuous Princes, added to which, a prospect of the permanent services of their favourite Minister, being secured to them, revived all their hopes, and cherished their most pleasing anticipations.

PLUTARCH.

"The Pilot that Weather'd the Storm."

LETTER X.

Thus ambition grasps
The empire of the soul, thus pale revenge
Unsheaths her murd rous dagger, and the bands
Of Lust and Rapine, with unholy arts,
Watch to o'erturn the barriers of the Laws
That keep them from the r prey thus all the plagues
The wicked bear, or o er the scene
The Tragic Muse discloses, under shapes
Of honor, safety, pleasure, ease, or pomp,
Stole first into the mind

AKENSIDE

FROM this period, until the dissolution of Parliament, in 1790, Mr PITT enjoyed a comparative state of repose, a suspension from that active exercise of the intellectual faculties, which appeared providentially interposed, to recruit exhausted genius, previously to encountering that tremendous tempest, which was preparing to burst upon the world, in every artificial horror, that man's evil ingenuity had conceived, to destroy his species, and disfigure the fair face of nature. He had, however, twice to contend, for the existence of the Corporation, and Test, Acts, the repeal of which he effectually resisted. The affair of Nootka Sound, likewise engaged much of his attention, but in bring-

ing it to an amicable adjustment, he neither sacrificed the national honor, to the threatening aspect of the times, nor averted an appeal to arms, by commuting its commercial privileges; but, on the contrary, rendered that secure, and permanent, which had hitherto been, in some measure, questionable. The annual financial statements afforded him an opportunity, of displaying the auspicious operation, of the system he had introduced, for promoting an econimical disbursement of the public treasure, and for protecting the revenue, from fraud, and peculation, which, combined with an inflexible severity against mal-practices of every description, regardless either of the rank, power, or influence, of the offending party, ingratiated him more, and more, in the good opinion, of his fellow subjects.

Whilst England was thus happy, in an amiable Monarch, a loyal People, and wise Counsellors, the imbecility, and wavering policy, of the French Ministers, had surrendered their country, a prey to anarchy, and prepared for the Royal House of Bourbon, (which, next to their God, had, for centuries, received the admiration of the people) a destiny, that will moisten the page of History, with the tears of compassion, whilst a remnant of virtue is left, to adorn the human character.

But we are taught to believe, it was not political oppression, feudal despotism, the pride of aristocracy, or the prodigality of Princes; neither the vulgar outcry; excited against innovations, they did not understand. Bastiles without inhabitants, and *Lettres de Cachet* without victims, which gave that extraordinary impulse to the French nation, that will live for ever in chronicles

of blood, but to a deep, and deliberate, system of impiety, and wickedness, which had been designed, and propagated, by a society of individuals, who were, both by profession, and practice, the enemies of the ALMIGHTY, and his whole creation whose ambition appears to have been of so diabolical a nature, as to be satiable only, by plunging the world, into a second chaos, of error and barbarism

At an early period of the French Revolution, observes the Abbé BARRUEL, appeared a sect, calling itself *Jacobin*, teaching, *that all men were equal and free*

"It was under the auspices of this sect, by their intrigues, their influence, and their impulse, that France beheld itself a prey to every crime that its soil was stained with the blood of its Pontiffs and Priests, of its rich men and Nobles with the blood of every class of its citizens, without regard to age, rank, or sex — These were the men who, after having made LOUIS *XVI his Queen, and sisters, drink to the very dregs*, the cup of outrage, and ignominy, during a long confinement, solemnly murdered them on a scaffold, proudly menacing the Sovereigns of the earth, with a similar fate! These are the men who have made the French Revolution, a scourge to all Europe—a terror to its powers, who vainly combine to stop the progress of their revolutionary armies, more numerous, and destructive, than the inundations of the Vandals"

Although the subject could never fail of interest, it is not my intention to encroach upon the province of the Historian, by entering upon a minute narration of the causes of this Revolution, to trace the course of anarchy, over all her fields of massacre, and immolation, or to follow her sanguinary steps, into the defiled tem-

ples of omnipotence, and the mutilated palaces of earthly potentates, which even at this day mark her dominion. But in justice to the character of the man, who preserved his country, from that promiscuous spoliation, of which these are the melancholy signs and tokens, left for the instruction, and admonition, of future ages, a concise review of the peculiar circumstances, which led to the dreadful convulsions, that have shaken the foundations of every human institution, will be found in the progress of my biography, rather indispensible, than irrelevant; as without first being acquainted with the fury of the whirlwind, it is impossible to estimate the abilities of the Pilot, who extricated his vessel from its attendant disasters.

PLUTARCH.

"The Pilot that Weather'd the Storm"

LETTER XI.

> Philosophy! a name of much degree,
> Embrac'd in token of humility
> By the proud Sage who, whilst he strove to hide
> In that vain artifice, reveal'd his pride:
>
> CHURCHILL.

"THE Sect of Jacobinism," the Abbe BARRUEL observes "was itself no other than the Coalition of a Triple Sect, of a triple conspiracy, in which, long before the Revolution, the overthrow of the Altar, the ruin of the Throne, and the dissolution of all Civil Society, had been debated, and resolved on." The projectors were, VOLTAIRE, FREDERIC II of Prussia, DIDEROT, and D'ALEMBERT, and France was selected as the first theatre of their exploits. Cruelly judicious, they commenced their design against Christianity, and thereby disengaging the allegiance of mankind from their lawful Sovereigns, gradually undermined the foundations of their thrones, and the institutions of religion and government being thus shaken, Anarchy found an easy task in perpetrating the destruction, which was to abrogate every social tie necessary to preserve the world in tranquillity and render existence tolerable.

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PLUTARCH.

of all Christian nations, and to attain the destruction of the altars of that God, whose worship had been taught by the Apostles"

This publication was ushered into the world with all the graces of superexcellent composition, and all the advantages of high patronage,—excellence, alas! bestowed by many, in ignorance of the criminal design they were promoting Patronage, alas! prostituted to the worst of purposes, excellence, in fact, employed in pourtraying vice in every seductive feature, and patronage applied to the sanction of infamy In other words, the *Encyclopædia* was converted into "a vast emporium of all the sophisms, errors, or calumnies, which ever had been invented against religion, from the first schools of impiety, until the day of this enterprise, and thus were to be so artfully concealed, that the reader should insensibly imbibe the poison without the least suspicion."

The effect of this compilation was prodigious and successful, beyond their most sanguine expectations, in the first attack, they advanced, with increased zeal, and intrepidity, to their second assault —The extinction of the Jesuits —those great protectors of ecclesiastical rights and dignities, the acknowledged guardians of the Catholic Faith, the rigid inculcators of Church discipline, and the privileged preceptors of youth—a station which of all others rendered them obnoxious to the conspirators Confidence, however, on the one side, and indefatigable perseverance on the other, soon removed this hostile barrier also, and dispersed that once potent, and dreaded, society, in poverty, and wretchedness, over the face of the kingdoms,

which a few short months before had hallowed their footsteps.

Without permitting the world to recover from their astonishment, they prepared to surprise it with yet bolder measures; and, in a short time, exulted in the dismemberment, and sequestration, of many hundred religious institutions, which were so many obstacles to their infernal purposes. But at this period, unfortunately for mankind, the plunder of the Church offered an invincible temptation, and the cloister was profaned to replenish the exhausted treasury of the State.

Presumption grew upon success, and the banishment of the Jesuits, and the dissolution of convents, was followed by a monopoly of every academical honour, to which the least influence was attached, consequently, "the laurels of literature were consecrated only on the impious writer." Preceptors for youth were selected only from proficients in the new philosophy, and thus the rising generation was impregnated with the seeds of that sophistry, which was to plunge their minds in the dismal speculations of Anti-Christianism, and steel their hearts, against every amiable emotion. The acquisition of the Academic chairs, necessarily brought the Press, under despotic influence; and whilst Europe was inundated through the means of History, Biography, Memoirs, Essays, Tales, Epigrams, Witticisms, and every form which Literature can assume, with the new doctrines of regeneration, every work which advocated religion, breathed one sentiment of piety, and recommended morality, and obedience, was, without scruple, condemned to oblivion.

Besides these resources, each conspirator had a certain mission to fulfil. VOLTAIRE's prolific pen charmed, whilst it beguiled the world. FREDERICK opened an asylum for the persecuted votaries of the New School, countenanced the publication of the boldest infidel works, and scattered the volumes of abomination indiscriminately through every palace, and cottage, into which his emissaries could penetrate. DIDEROT was the itinerant, who in clubs, coffee houses, and convivial meetings, familiarised the public to arguments subversive of the being, and attributes, of the GOD, they adored, and D'ALEMBERT was industriously occupied in planting, in the infant mind the fatal precepts of infidelity. To these might be added innumerable minor channels, through which, however, it would be an endless task to pursue them.

"Should, then, the historian," continues the Abbé BARRUEL, "seek the causes of revolution in its agents, he will meet a NECKER, a BRIENNE, a PHILLIPE D'ORLEANS, MIRABEAU and ROBESPIERRE, a confusion in the finances, factions among the great, insubordination in the armies, the public agitated and disgusted, in fine, seduced.—But will he for that know from whence these NECKERS, MIRABEAUX, and ROBESPIERRES, have arisen—whence this confusion in finances, this insubordination of the armies, or the seduction of divers classes of the State?—he will have seized but the last thread of the conspiracy, he will have seen empires in their agony, but he will have overlooked that slow fever which consumes them, whilst the violence of the fit is reserved to that last crisis, which precedes dissolution. He will describe the calamities which every one has seen, but

will he be nearer the remedy?"—No, he must turn his eyes towards the Potentates and Statesman, Ecclesiastics and Magistrates, the Literary and Scientific Men, who were insensibly deluded into the dangerous conspiracy, or willingly initiated into the holy mysteries of perdition; and he will not only find enumerated in the Kalendar of Philosophism, or the ANTI-CHRISTIAN COALITION, but systematically organized in classes, and industriously engaged in illuminating their subjects, independants, and families, in the science of apostacy:—

First, the Imperial Sovereigns of Austria, and Russia, the Kings of Denmark, Sweden, and Poland. In the second class, *the majority of the Dukes, Princes, Landgraves, Electors, Margraves, and the Minor Feudal Chiefs.* In the third, the Ministers, and others in official situations. In the fourth, the Men of Letters; and in the fifth, the Clergy. The whole including a nomenclature, as illustrious for talents, as in future annals they will stand reproached as ignominiously leagued together, for the dreadful purpose of overthrowing the altars of Omnipotence.

France, unhappily for her, was appointed the focal point, wherein to concentrate the whole strength of the conspirators. A virtuous, and pious, Prince, was the first victim of their diabolical infatuation, and his dominions, the first sanguinary stage of their inhuman exhibitions. They had excited a tempest, however, which it was beyond human power to controul, and we have seen it sweep, with irresistible violence, over every land corrupted by the breath of apostacy. Nor can we be surprised at this day, that when Monarchs had the temerity to wage war against that GOD, whom

they were appointed to represent on earth, that he, in their extremity, should forsake them

In chains, and wretchedness, under the iron yoke of vassalage, which LIBERTY and EQUALITY have forged, these unhappy subjects now groan beneath the sway of the monstrous conception, which their impious zeal has brought forth Whilst England, eternally blessed be the man, who saved her from the general wreck, continues the refuge of the unfortunate, and the asylum from sorrow and despair!

PLUTARCH.

"The Pilot that Weather'd the Storm."

LETTER XII.

Philosophy! whom nature had design'd
To purge all errors from the human mind,
Herself misled by the Philosopher,
At once her priest and master, made us err:
Pride, pride, like leaven in a mass of flour,
Tainted her laws, and made ev'n virtue sour.

CHURCHILL.

IT is by no means surprising, that the attempts to subvert every religious office, should be succeeded by a dereliction of duty towards sublunary Sovereigns. As soon, therefore, as CHRIST and his Apostles were sufficiently degraded in the eyes of the sophisters, the annihilation of monarchy, became an object of their odious ambition. To accomplish this branch of their conspiracy, a greater degree of secrecy was indispensable; the mysteries of Free Masonry, were therefore made the ostensible motives, for seditious associations; and establishments instituted to promote charity, benevolence, and good fellowship, were corrupted into dens for the savage incendiaries, who triumphed in the martyrdom of LOUIS XVI.

The Royal, and Noble, adepts, who had, with so much alacrity, combined to sweep from the face of the

globe, the altars of their GOD, soon discovered that their philosophic brethren, were equally inimical to earthly, as to ethereal thrones, after the proscription of the Gospel, that of all human authority was necessarily to follow, for when a mind was divested of every religious and moral obligation, to enforce allegiance was a task impracticable

VOLTAIRE, during his crusade against the altar, was conspicuous for his attachment to the monarchical form of government "he loved Kings—their favour, and their caresses, were his delight, he was even dazzled with their greatness" But the same arguments which denied the existence of a Supreme Judge, and Ruler, in Heaven, were equally substantial against the legality of any similar controul on earth and however he might have been disinclined to the levelling system, he found it impossible to retract the sentiments he had so animatedly expressed against the Altar and the Gospel —That he must apostatize against his own doctrines, and abdicate the sovereignty of his infamous sect, or that he must unite in the plots it had organized, to excite discord, and rebellion, and to establish *Liberty*, and *Equality*, by making every man a victim to his own passions, and a despot wherever power could second his inclinations

D ALEMBERT, and the other members of the anti-monarchical league, having, therefore, in some degree forced the great champion of atheism, to become the ringleader, of political revolution, we never hear them in future speak of, or allude to Kings, but under the denomination of despots, tyrants, or appellations equally obnoxious, until the *Age of Reason* reached its meridian, and the people began to look upon every

one as their enemy, who attempted to repress the profane propensity of the times—that the crown being the symbol of law and justice, it was necessary to destroy it—that they might be free and equal; that is, profligate without reproach, vicious without restraint, and the free agents of nature's vilest passions.

That VOLTAIRE was honoured as the grand projector of the revolution, we have only to turn to the panegyric of CONDORCET.—"It appears, that it would have been possible to shew, in a clear light, *the eternal obligations which human nature has to* VOLTAIRE; *he did not foresee all that he has done, but he has done all that we now see.* The enlightened observer, and the able historian, will prove to those who are capable of reflection, *that the first author of the great revolution, which astonishes all Europe, which infuses hope into the hearts of nations, and disgust into Courts, was, without doubt,* VOLTAIRE. He was the first who levelled that formidable rampart of despotism, the religious and sacerdotal power. Had he not broken the yoke of priests, that of tyrants, never could have been shaken off:" a clear proof that the destruction of the altar, was only intended as a prelude to the anarchy, which followed; and yet these men, almost without exception, were dependant upon the favour of Kings, enjoyed situations near their thrones, appointments emanating immediately from their patronage, and even pensioners upon their liberality!

The first step to promote the anti-monarchical conspiracy, was the introduction of extensive municipal powers, approximating so near to republicanism, as to lead gradually to the destruction of the Royal Prerogative. Thus, every Province was to have a partial

Legislation, which was to remonstrate against every general principle adopted by the KING's Ministers, who were to be accused as the cause of all the people's grievances, and the MONARCH, by sanctioning these measures, stigmatized as a tyrant, and a despot.

MONTESQUIEU, perhaps, unintentionally, had advocated the principles of the sophists, by asserting, that the Romans owed their eclat, for love of liberty, and reason, to the dethroning of their Kings, by having instituted annual Consuls, that "What Sovereigns call establishing order, is another name for rivetting fetters on their subjects" Undoubtedly, his celebrated work, *The Spirit of Laws,* is couched in a constant strain, tending to degrade, depreciate, and excite dislike to the monarchical government, and to elevate democracy, and although VOLTAIRE essentially differed from MONTESQUIEU, as "he would willingly have endured a Monarch, who would have connived at impiety," yet such was his hatred to religion, that he would have sacrificed every King in Christendom, to have gratified his antipathy to the name, and worship, of CHRIST. But to involve MONTESQUIEU, in the tribes of atheism, and sophistry, would be unjust it is, however, impossible to deny, whatever may have been his intention, that, at the period he wrote, the people of France were most ardently attached to their MONARCH, but that ever after, schisms arose in their opinions To believe that he conspired with them, is impossible, from his nature, "but that he forwarded their plans, is too certain! He did not conspire by setting up his systems, but his systems formed conspirators He created a school, and in that school he had taught, that in a free state, every man, who

is supposed a free agent, ought *to be his own Governor*; and in that school, systems were formed, which, improving on his, rendered the latter more fatal."

ROUSSEAU followed, but gave a much wider field than his predecessor; preaching up the *Sovereignty of the People.* "The Sovereignty," he observes, "being no more than the exercise of the general will, can never alieniate itself. If, therefore, a people promise, unconditionally, to obey, the act of making such promise dissolves their existence, and they lose their quality of people; for at the moment that there is a *master*, there is no longer a Sovereign, and the body politic is destroyed of course." No language could be more palpably anti-monarchical than this; it was unequivocally telling all nations, that if they wished to be free, they must cease to be governed by Kings. And then, pursuing all his extraordinary chimeras, this insinuating author asserts, that all authority, except such as procceds from general assemblies of the people, is inconsistent with liberty; and that, as an assembly of many millions of people is impracticable, therefore, all extensive empires are encroachments upon freedom, and require to be dismembered, or split into federative democracies; so that the *Sovereignty of the People* might reign universal. In every instance, and argument, attempting to establish, as a fact, that all individual, and hereditary rule, is usurpation, incompatible with the *rights of man*, and that all people are necessarily slaves, who are governed by Kings.

CONDORCET, the most rancorous of the conspirators againt Monarchy, and every species of sovereign authority, which he deems coercion, clearly demonstrated the views of the *Constitutionalists*, and it was

no longer the cry, "Destroy the tyrant, or the despot," but, "Destroy the King He enquires, "Whether a King is necessary for liberty?' and, answering his own question, declares, "That Royalty is not only unnecessary, and useless, *but even contrary to liberty*, that it is irreconcilable with liberty"

Exulting in the hopes, which their speculations created, the *philosophers* then announced to the world, that "the day would come when the sun would shine on none but freemen (Republicans), a day, when man would recognize no other master than reason, when tyrants (Kings) and their slaves (subjects of monarchy), when priests, together with their hypocritical agents (the believers in GOD and CHRIST) would have no further existence, but in History and on the Stage"

The Encyclopædia, and other engines of literature, were also resorted to for the purpose of disseminating the poison of sedition and rebellion These writings were issued from the same manufactory, composed by the same adepts, commended, and revised, by the same chiefs, spread with the same profusion, and hawked from town, to village, by the same agents, who proved so efficient in their anti christian conspiracy, and their authors inculcated the most absurd, as well as the most iniquitous, doctrines One observes, "the true *monarch* is no more than a constitution, invented to *corrupt the morals of nations, and enslave mankind*' A second, "*That these Kings are wild beasts, who devour nations*" A third, "*That Kings are the executioners of their subjects, and power, and stupidity were the founders of their thrones*" A fourth, "*That*

it is pusillanimity alone which has created, and still maintains, Kings on their thrones."

Even the infidel FREDERICK, shrewd, and penetrating as he was, fell a dupe to the artifices of the philosophers, who, in enlisting him in the corps of impiety, only admitted him into half their secret, and he discovered, too late, that, in promoting the cause of atheists and anti-christians, he had been the patron, protector, and advocate of traitors; therefore, though he still remained indifferent as to the immortality of the soul, for the salvation of a transient throne, he condescended to become the refuter of their chimeras, and absurdities, with a zeal highly worthy, and judicious; but, alas! he had too fatally sanctioned their trespasses upon religion, and morals, and was still too sincere a proselyte, to impiety, to stop the current, which ha borne so many diadems into the abyss of anarchy.

England, fortunately, possessed a Monarch mo righteous, and a Statesman more virtuous; wh placing their reliance on that Power who sees, a governs all, have averted the calamities, which impi philosophism promulgated, to excite mistrust betw man and man, enmity between kings and people, warfare between nation and nation.

PLUTARC

"The Pilot that Weather'd the Storm."

LETTER XIII.

Had she, content within her proper sphere,
Taught lessons, suited to the human ear,
The heart of man, unrivall'd, she had sway'd,
Prais'd by the good, and by the bad obey'd
But when, she overturning reason's throne,
Strove proudly, in its place, to plant her own,
When she with apathy the breast would steel,
And teach us deeply feeling not to feel,
When she would wildly, all her force employ,
Not to correct our passions, but destroy,
When not content, our nature to restore,
As made by GOD, she made it all new o'er
When with a strange, and criminal excess,
To make us more than men, she made us less
The good her dwindl'd power with pity saw,
The bad with joy, and none but fools with awe

CHURCHILL

HAVING developed, in my two last letters, the conspiracies, which menaced, with total ruin, "the altar of every GOD, and the throne of every MONARCH," I shall appropriate the present, to as concise a delineation as possible, of that which was directed against "the law of every Society, and the property of every Citizen"

The year 1776 gave birth to the sect of illuminees, of which ADAM WEISHAUPT inaugurated himself the

Hierophant, and as the first, and most consistent, act of his authority, promulgated the following Creed:—

"Liberty and equality are the essential rights, that man in his original, and primitive, perfection, received from nature, *Property* struck the first blow at equality; political Society, or Governments, were the first oppressors of *liberty*; *the supporters of Governments, and property are the religious and civil laws*; therefore, to reinstate man in his primitive rights of equality, and liberty, we must begin by destroying all religion, all civil society, and finish by the destruction of all property."

Such was the theory he laboured, incessantly, to illustrate, by practical enormities, and by teaching that sacrilege and blasphemy—parricide and murder—adultery and incest—perjury and falsehood—treason and rebelion, were only prejudices imbibed from ignorance, and superstition, fabricated by Kings and Priests, to monopolize the enjoyments of life, within the recesses of their palaces, and convents.

The sect was divided into various classes, and degrees, bearing affinity to Freemasonry, and other institutions, whose machinations were practised with impunity, under mysterious and symbolical ceremonies.

Their Code of regulations, was an epitome of the most consummate art and villainy, so enveloped in the language of enthusiasm and hyperbole, that every paragraph could bear a double interpretation, and was so expressed, as either to be considered as a condemnation, or an excitement, to vicious propensities.

The first section, which treated of the Duties of "Brother, Nunciator, or Recruiter," will confirm these

observations pretty forcibly. Their occupation, as the appellation denotes, was to procure proselytes, and according to their success, were promoted to the apostleship, and higher ranks of illuminism They were scattered over the whole face of Europe, in every Cabinet—in every cloister—in every college, and seminary—in every city, town, and hamlet

This famous Code was transmitted to every Insinuator, preceded by the three great precepts of the Order—"*Hold thy Tongue*"—"*Be Perfect*."—"*Disguise Thyself*"—That is, they were, without scruple, to infringe the laws of hospitality by acting the "Eves-dropper," and betraying the confidence of social intercourse, by assuming every exterior grace, which could fascinate mankind, and by practising dissimulation under the garb of pure benevolence and virtue, they were assiduously to penetrate into every object that surrounded them—vigilantly to observe every person with whom they became acquainted, and whom they met in company, without the exception of relations, friends, enemies, or strangers, to discover their strong, and their weak side, their passions, and prejudices, their intimacies, and, above all, their actions, interests, and fortunes

In the selection of adepts, preference was to be given to young men, whose education was yet incomplete, and more especially to the gay, the fashionable, and the thoughtless "*Seek me out*," observes WEISHAUPT, *the dexterous, and daring, youths We must have adepts who are insinuating, intriguing, full of resource, bold, and enterprising, they must also be flexible, and tractable, obedient, docile, and sociable.* Seek out also those who are distinguished by their *power*,

bility, *riches*, or *learning*. Spare no pains—spare othing in the acquisition of such adepts. If Heaven efuse its aidance—conjure Hell."

In anticipation of this horrid alternative, a collateral society of females, was projected, and although but partially acted upon, will disclose the infernal purposes of these civil, and political, incendiaries. They were divided into two classes; the first composed of virtuous women; the second of the wild, the giddy, and voluptuous; the former were to be brought over by reading *good books*, that is, works of atheistical and philosophical authors, which could be perused without offence to modesty, and at the same time surreptitiously inculcate the morality of *illuminism*. The latter were to be "*formed to the acts of secretly gratifying* the passions." The advantages to be derived from the first class, were the funds they would contribute at their initiation, and the tax which would continually be imposed upon their curiosity.

The second were to ingratiate the novices, by administering to their several pleasures.

The adepts were required to renounce obedience t every earthly authority—whether emanating from th King—Civil Jurisdiction—Parents or Masters; to gra to their brethren the *power of life and death*, in t event of any defalcation from the principles of Order, and to subject themselves to its decrees, v *blind subservience, and without any restraint or r ration whatever*.

They were to consider fraud and robbery as crimes—in fact, that "*every thing useful to their was an act of virtue*."

The *Patet exitus*—every man is free to leave this life at pleasure—was one of their fundamental principles; indeed, suicide was deemed an act of magnanimity, when poverty, oppression, or misfortune, rendered life no longer desirable

They represented to their pupils, that all political constitutions, all human establishments of every description, " were but the crude inventions of crazy brains, or geniusses laboriously subtle," that, therefore, to destroy them, " by violent revolutions, or any means that could ensure success," was desirable, in order to restore the " original, and noble, simplicity of their forefathers," and that to appreciate liberty properly, to do justice to the primitive virtues of their long buried ancestors, they should be capable of viewing, without painful emotion, Rome, Vienna, Paris, London, or Constantinople, wrapt in devouring flames, and yielding their proud domes, to dust, and oblivion.

But the subject having drawn me into unexpected prolixity, I must postpone its conclusion to another Letter, and whilst thus I suspend my narrative, I leave you to contemplation, and to sigh over the ashes of the man who saved your country from such frantic wickedness.

PLUTARCH.

"The Pilot that Weather'd the Storm."

LETTER XIV.

'Tis not in man, 'tis not in more than man,
To make me find one fault in nature's plan;
Plac'd low ourselves, we censure those above,
And wanting Judgment think that she wants love,
Blame when we ought, in reason to commend,
And think her most a foe, when most afraid.
Such be Philosophers. ———

CHURCHILL.

EVERY individual in the offices of State, Ecclesiastical, Civil, or Scholastic Establishments, was eagerly sought for to unite in their abominable sect, and when initiated, was bound, by oath, to prefer the Brethren to every vacant situation. Thus Illuminism engrossed, by degrees, all benefices, employment and dignities;—thus were secrets of State divulge treachery encouraged, and the operations of Gove ments defeated, and exposed; discontent consequen excited, and the fury of the murmuring multit directed against all lawful authorities.

The initiation of adepts was attended with all terrific preparations, which distinguished Egy mysteries. They were threatened, in the ev treachery, with vengeance from every hand

Illuminees, from every cup they drank of, and from every morsel of sustenance which entered their lips A denunciation against the regalia, and symbols, of royalty, that were displayed before them as " childish mockeries," also accompanied the ceremony, which was followed by a discourse, " the most monstrously fertile, in sophism, in impiety, in blasphemy against the Gospel, and the ALMIGHTY—in treachery against the Magistracy—their country, and its laws—against their titles, and their rights—their ancestors, and their progeny," thundered in their ears, by every device which could terrify, amaze, madden, and bewilder

The better to conceal their proceedings, the title of the Order was varied incessantly, both in respect to time, and place, their means of communication, either verbally, or by writing, was by signs, cyphers, or mysterious synonysisms Each member, had an adopted name, characteristic of his peculiar talent Geography also underwent similar mutilations, the calendar was metamorphosed, all their writings, records, and documents, were composed in a strain of irony —Thus, when a man was reputed religious, he was a true infidel,,devoted to the interests of the Order,—when magnanimous, a deserter from the *superstitions* of religion, and the *mummeries* of the Holy Sacraments. In this manner every thing was involved in endless intricacy, piety and morality progressively subvered, filial affection, and every feeling of nature, sacrificed to the propagation of Illuminism

They were required to renounce *their own penetration and judgment*—to promise to serve the cause with " *life, honour, and estates*," and in default, " *to submit to whatever punishment, the brotherhood, might please to*

"The Pilot that Weather'd the Storm."

LETTER XV.

Such be Philosophers—their specious art,
Tho' friendship pleads, shall never warp my heart,
Ne'er make me from this breast one passion tear,
Which nature, my best friend, hath planted there.
CHURCHILL.

HAVING, to the best of my abilities, disclosed the secret operations, which germinated the French Revolution, it will be my future duty, to prove their consummation, in the events which actually took place in that unfortunate country, and that brought on the havoc of the guillotine, with all the concomitants of anarchy, and anti-religious enthusiasm.

To this period, the direct progress of my memoir, (t which I shall now return) will speedily conduct u and the means applied by Mr. PITT, to circumscr the effect of the crimes, and excesses, which lacera France, within the confines of her own dominion, adduce sufficient evidence, to convince us, that works of the great Hierarchs of Philosophism— TAIRE, FREDERICK, ROUSSEAU, D'ALEMBER their whole phalanx of impiety, had been the obj his deepest research—that he had duly apprecia

influence they were calculated to acquire, and the consequences of those relaxations, from moral restrictions, which were to be deemed the harbingers of returning *reason*

I shall also, I trust, render apparent, a perception, by which he rapidly penetrated, into the mischievous designs of illuminism, cradled, as it was, in impervious haunts, in deathlike silence, and hypocrisy, or enveloped, as was its maturity, in the mysteries of Masonry, the Propaganda, the Economists, the Philanthropists, Constitutionalists, Rosicrusians, and other occult seminaries for the propagation of philosophic chimeras finally, I hope to prove, that the whole tenor of his subsequent policy, was grounded upon the deductions his mind had formed, from the dark nature of these conspiracies, which, though it may have failed, from inconceivable accidents, in preventing the aggrandizement of France, and overturning the usurpation which now oppresses her, has, at all events, raised around this kingdom a rampart, hitherto impregnable against the malevolence of its enemies

The new Parliament assembled in November, 1790, when the only debate which occurred upon the Address, was the customary assault of the Opposition, in *order to try the strength of parties* The subject selected for this purpose, was the recent accommodation with Spain, which Mr Fox deemed unsatisfactory, the concessions, on the part of his CATHOLIC MAJESTY, inadequate, and, upon the whole, that the arrangement was rather inimical, than advantageous, to the interests of Great Britain These arguments however, Mr PITT successfully controverted He then brought forward an estimate of expences, which had been in-

curred, in anticipation of hostilities, with Spain, and gratified the House, by a further specimen of those financial abilities, which have left behind him one of the proudest monuments of his fame.

The first important discussion, of the present Session, opened a field, for a display of his accurate knowledge, of the laws of Parliament, the constitution of his country, and historical precedent. It had been advanced, by the friends of Mr. HASTINGS, that in case of impeachment, upon a dissolution of Parliament, it was a necessary consequence, that the proceedings should commence *de novo*, which position was but weakly supported, by attempts to establish an analogy between the judicial powers of Parliament, and the Courts of Law. Mr. BURKE, therefore, to bring the point to an issue, moved, "That the Impeachment, notwithstanding the recent dissolution of Parliament, was now pending;" which motion, Mr. PITT supported with the same energy he had exhibited, upon the question of the Regency, and, indeed, upon every occasion which proffered an opportunity to record an indisputable precedent, for the information, and peace, of posterity; and shewed himself, in this instance, as much "the Man of the People," as, upon other occasions, he had manifested himself the Advocate of the Prerogative; clearly defining, the limits of privilege on either side, and ascertaining their respective rights, with impartial resolution.

He insisted upon it, as a fundamental principle, that impeachments were not abated by a Dissolution of Parliament; and, were it otherwise, it must be evident, that a delinquent would be exposed to the severest injustice; acts of political criminality, be continually

practised with impunity, or, by a sudden exercise of the prerogative, the judicial proceedings of the House might at any moment be invalidated, the offended laws defrauded of their victim, or the culprit harassed to the ruin of his peace, and the destruction of his fortune The abatement of impeachments, therefore, he observed, by a Dissolution of Parliament, would throw an insurmountable obstacle, in the way of public justice, and would deprive the House of a power, the most formidable, to a corrupt Administration, the exercise of which now served as a shield, and bulwark, for the Constitution

The opposition to the motion, protracted the debate to three successive days, but produced more elocution than argument, opinions more ingenious, than constitutional, upon the *judicial* objections to the existing mode of impeachment, exhortations, more pathetic than prudent, in favour of delinquency and quibbles, more becoming the practice of the inferior Courts, than the solemn deliberations of the Senate The result, however, established, most unequivocally, the principle persisted in by Mr BURKE, as incontrovertible, " that impeachments continued in *statu quo*," unaffected either by prorogation, dissolution, or the changes, or casualties, inseparable from large assemblies.

In this affair, Mr PITT also evinced one of the finest traits of his character, as a Minister, and a Patriot,—never to be satisfied with triumph only, but to have every motion canvassed, and investigated, to the utmost of human capacity. That its influence might not only be temporary, but carry benefit to futurity, no trick, or manœuvre, of party, no superficial discussion, was reconcilable with his conscientious feelings, but

to render every act, and privilege, of the Legislature, every branch of the Constitution, clear and perspicuous to posterity, was the sole aim of his labours, unalloyed by any sentiment of vanity or interest. It was not the gay, and perishable, feather, of transient applause, but the durable monuments, which permanent good would erect over his grave, that constituted the ambition of his godlike mind.

Innumerable other difficulties occurred in prosecuting the charges against Mr. HASTINGS, and so many tedious pleadings upon the admissibility, or inadmissibility, of evidence—consistent or irreconcilable with legal precedents—that it was concluded, the Legislature must assume a dangerous discretion, or abandon the proceedings it had instituted; and it was seriously suggested, as the least of the many evils that presented themselves, to adjourn the trial, *sine die.* This tame submission, however, to untoward circumstances, Mr. PITT resisted, with indignation; nobly asserting, *that it ill became* that House to arraign any individual, without prosecuting the *charges to judgment. With what* apology could they meet their Constituents, when they informed them, that a single citizen was enabled to set their consolidated power at defiance, and frustrate every effort of justice? Moreover, it would be an indelible blemish upon the annals of Parliament, to have it inserted upon their journals, that either space, time, or any human obstacles, should enable a great political criminal, to baffle investigations, which involved the national honour, and humanity. Sooner ought the whole House to trace the Ganges to its source—ascend the summit of Caucasus, and penetrate to regions yet unknown, or untrodden, by the foot of man, than that

the fields of Asia should be polluted by European guilt, and rapacity, unavenged; or that the delegated authority of a mighty nation, should be made the mockery of its offending servants.

These observations, awakened the House to a proper sense of its duty, and, after acceding to a proposition from Mr. BURKE, to limit the Impeachment to an additional charge, which he then submitted, this laborious business was urged forward with renovated ardour.

This Sessions also represented Mr. PITT as the advocate of humanity, in the support, though unavailing, which he gave the motion of Mr. WILBERFORCE, for the Abolition of the Slave Trade. A rash emancipation was certainly to be deprecated, and, upon a first view of the subject, there is no doubt but the benevolent feelings of the respectable mover, and his supporters, were too much implicated, to admit of that deliberate consideration, the subject merited, which it has since experienced, and that has, consequently, obtained for it, the success, which the cause of philanthrophy must invariably command.

This period, was also marked, by a disposition to mitigate the hardships of the Catholics, in whose favor many political disqualifications were cancelled, and toleration, respecting religious worship, liberally extended.

The labours of Parliament, closed, by a proposal from the Minister, *for bestowing the advantages of the* British Constitution, upon the natives of Canada; a subject, however, which called forth many unpropitious opinions upon the changes that had occurred,

and were daily occurring, in a neighbouring kingdom; opinions which, nevertheless, I am inclined to pass over, with the lenity, due to sentiments, expressed in the vehemence of enthusiasm, and as connected with objects, promising, to sanguine minds, results far varying from the path, into which ambition, and interest, impel them.

Mr. PITT, more cautious, maintained prudent silence, watching the tempest, amidst whose curling billows, he discovered a presage of calamity, unknown to ancient or modern history.

PLUTARCH.

"*The Pilot that Weather'd the Storm*"

LETTER XVI.

The love we bear our Country is a root
Which never fails to bring forth golden fruit,
'Tis in the mind an everlasting spring,
Of glorious actions which become a King,
Nor less become a Subject, 'tis a debt
Which bad men, tho they pay not, can t forget,
A duty which the good delight to pay,
And ev ry man can practise ev'ry day.

CHURCHILL

THE re-committal of the Canada Bill, led to a serious discussion upon the principles of Government in general, which ultimately caused a schism amongst the Opposition, that procured Mr. PITT a great acquisition in the talents of Mr BURKE. This Gentleman had both thought, and written, more upon the French Revolution, than, perhaps, any other individual in the kingdom; and in attributing it to its proper cause, he, with the appearance of prophetic inspiration, accurately anticipated its consequences He perceived that France was the theatre only, upon which the grand conspiracy, against the throne, the altar, and social order, was to commence its operations, and that to circumscribe its effects with the limits of the Rhine, the Pyrenees, and the German Ocean, was an under-

taking impracticable. He perceived that "the principles and actions of the Jacobins, were neither meant to be, nor in their nature could be, limited to the country which gave them birth, but that they were calculated for all nations, and for all ages; to eradicate every thing that was settled, every thing that was good, every thing that was worthy of preservation, and to substitute in their place every thing that was infamous, impious, and unholy." The lust of anarchy would prove as insatiable, as the ambition of ALEXANDER; and, when its revolutionary bands, had ravaged the fertile plains of Europe, the sands of Africa would next be contaminated with their sanguinary march, and the seas of Asia, in their turn, be ploughed by the floating pestilence. It was evident the discontented in England, had already become infected by it, and were daily dispatching, from various political clubs and societies, their disgusting congratulations, to the arrogant Reformists, in Paris;—but even these, he observed, may shortly be convinced of the atrocities of which a rebellious soldiery, and an *enlightened* multitude can be guilty; and amidst blazing palaces, polluted altars, and the insulted seats of justice, repent the sanction their officious approbation had given to their conflagrations, their butcheries, and their blasphemies; and that individual, in the sphere of whose brilliant intellectual faculties it had hitherto been his glory to move, might live to lament the day, when he condescended to be installed the Champion of Gallic Liberty and equalization.

The partizans, of Mr. Fox saw the downfall of their hopes in this separation, and endeavoured, by every means, to mollify the warmth of their contending

crisis which was rapidly approaching, amongst a people the most civilized, and hitherto the most devotedly monarchical in political disposition, of any nation upon earth. In vain the tumult of debate subsided; in vain did the expectant eyes of friends, and foes, watch the moment which was to enrapture, or confound them, with his nervous eloquence, and commanding declamation; that should sever, for ever, the disunited friends, or reconcile their discordant politics. He had yet but imbibed the rudiments of the knowledge, adapted to the new æra of the world; his judgment was as yet but in swaddling clothes, and he had yet many sources of mental nourishment to explore, before he could venture to step forth the arbiter of the kingdom; therefore, with majestic forbearance, he remained, uncommitted, uninfluenced, and unarraigned, rising only to bestow this flattering compliment upon Mr. Burke:—He thought him entitled to the gratitude of his country, for having, on that day, in so noble and eloquent a manner, expressed his sense of the degree of danger which already existed, and assured him that he would himself most cordially co-operate with him, in taking every possible means, to preserve what he esteemd the most perfect Constitution in the world, and to deliver it down to posterity, as the security for the property, freedom, and happiness, of the British people.

PLUTARCH.

"The Pilot that Weather'd the Storm"

LETTER XVII

At length ——————————
Those whom he could not fright he strove to cheat,
* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
Would those who, by op nion plac d on high,
Stand fair and perfect in their Country s eye,
Maintain that honour, let me in their ear
Hint this essential doctrine—Persevere
Should they (which Heav'n forb d) to win the grace
Of some proud Courtier, or to gain a place,
Their King and Country sell, with endless shame
Th' avenging Muse shall mark each trait rous name

CHURCHILL.

But it appeared as if an epoch had arrived, when every system was to be deranged, by innovation, and when every privilege of sovereignty, was to be assumed by the subject, or in the language of *Philosophy*, when the *Majesty of the People* was to assert its dignity, by questioning every authority that preserves society, either political or civil, within the limits of subordination.

A war, the most inveterate and exterminating, had long deluged the frontiers of Rus a and Turkey, with the blood of their best battalions, but the latter being, at length, exhausted, by repeated efforts to maintain the integrity of her empire, again t the predominating

fortune of her rival; and the former becoming desirous of a suspension of hostilities on the Niester, and the Don, that she might prosecute other objects of aggression, on the more fertile shores of the Dwina, a negociation for peace was opened, but the demands of the Empress CATHARINE, were so evidently adapted to future projects of ambition, that to prevent a total dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, and preserve the balance of power, the interference of England, as an ally of the Sublime Porte, was indispensable; therefore, in conjunction with the King of PRUSSIA, Mr. PITT proffered the assistance of the two Courts, as mediators between the Belligerents; proposals, however, which the EMPRESS rejected with the haughtiness, and vanity, of a conqueror. In consequence of which Mr. PITT called upon the House, for the provision necessary to increase the Naval Establishment, in order to succour more efficiently the dispirited Turks, and add greater weight to the remonstrances of the British Ambassador at St. Petersburgh. A motion to this effect being carried, though from particular circumstances, with no very powerful majority, instructions were dispatched to his Majesty's Envoy, to communicate the determination of the English Cabinet; when, to his infinite astonishment, at the next Levee, as he prepared to solicit an opportunity, to make known the will of his Sovereign, he beheld, placed in the most honourable seat, at the right hand of the Imperial Autocrat, an accredited agent of Mr. FOX, (Mr. ADAIR), who had been dispatched thither, with all the ceremony, and credentials, of an Ambassador, to frustrate the plans of his own Government, and teach a Power inimical to his native country and legitimate Sovereign, how to

counteract the diplomatic exertions of their representative, which service he so effectually performed, that the Porte was compelled to accede to the severe terms of her adversary, by relinquishing the grand object of contention—the fortress of Oczakow, with its dependencies, and a considerable extent of territory—an acquisition estimated by CATHARINE, in proportion as it facilitated her *dormant* views, not only upon *Constantinople*, but upon Egypt and Alexandria, by which she anticipated, at no remote period, a controul over the Mediterranean, and thus to establish her Empire, the rival of Great Britain, both as a maritime and commercial power

This proceeding of Mr Fox, met with the sharpest rebuke from his colleague, Mr. BURKE, he justly described it as " unprecedented in the annals of party," as " unjustifiable upon any pretext whatever. He was not prepared to say it amounted to absolute high treason, Russia, though on bad terms, not having been then declared at war with this kingdom, but such a proceeding was, in law, not very remote from that offence, and was, undoubtedly, *a most unconstitutional act*, and *an high treasonable misdemeanor*" Indeed, this affair, notwithstanding the respect which the most partial friendship may entertain, for the brilliant acquirements, and more recent conduct, of Mr Fox, as a Patriot, and a Statesman, must be admitted a most unpardonable act of political finesse, unworthy any subject of Great Britain, either as the projector, or instrument

The situation of Mr. PITT, however, was, at this time, so delicate, and peculiar, that he was obliged to suffer a source of aggravation, so unprecedented, to

pass with impunity; and, with his friends, determined boldly rather to meet reproach and scorn, than betray the confidence of the Sovereign, the secrets of the Cabinet, and the interests of the country. During this magnanimous silence, Mr. ADAIR returned, laden with trophies from the Czarina, to compliment his master, who, thus recompensed for his affectionate services to *Despotism*, presented the irreconcileable character of "*The Champion of Liberty at Home,*" and "*The Advocate for Tyranny Abroad,*" as ostensibly acting *to preserve his own country from the horrors of war*, whilst he was performing the part of an indefatigable auxiliary in the interest of a foreign State, to enable it *to enact the most rigid terms of peace, from a prostrate foe.*

PLUTARCH.

"*The Pilot that Weather'd the Storm.*"

LETTER XVIII.

What ills from such beginnings needs must spring,
What ill to such a land, from such a thing!
What could she hope! What had she not to fear!

CHURCHILL

THE year 1791 ushered into the world, the ridiculous theories of THOMAS PAINE, which were disseminated with all the activity of political bigotry, and found a most powerful advocate in Dr PRIESTLEY, a man whose name will remain for ever odious to every individual, peaceably, and loyally, disposed The principles of the Illuminees, were glaringly visible in this notorious publication, which, notwithstanding its extravagance, excited an alarming agitation in the public mind, even in the superior ranks of society, but amongst the lower orders, awakened a very dangerous ambition The Constitution under which they had so long existed, contentedly, and happily, they began to contemplate as grievously oppressive, they looked no longer upon the Crown, as the palladium of their liberty, and glory, but as the absorbing focus, of their best privileges, and they contemned the laws of courtesy and good-breeding, as inimical to the *primeval Rights of Man*—Rights, alas! which their humble minds could

not comprehend, and which involved questions, surpassing the utmost expansion of ideas, unaided by literary acquirements, and practical knowledge. What was it, then, which excited this commotion in their breasts—*the Light of Reason.*—Good God! could reason ever desire to open the wide world; to the reign of vice and iniquity; could reason ever desire to see lineal honours, rise in judgment, against the descendants of the great and virtuous; or the inheritance of the best servants of kingdoms, and commonwealths, confiscated to pamper regicides, and hypocrites? No!—Avarice and lawless inclinations, lured them towards the dilemma, into which their neighbours had fallen. Could Paine's propositions, and Priestley's doctrines, have been accomplished, they erroneously imagined the jewels of the Crown, would revert into their pockets; that the private treasures of their masters and patrons, would administer to their unruly appetites; that the wife, and the virgin, would be exposed to their ungovernable passions; that, in the arms of indolence, all cares would be forgotten; and that licentiousness would neither experience restraint, or prosecution. In fine, whilst immersed in these visionary reveries, they vainly fancied that nature, and Providence would yield sustenance, habiliments, and protection, without the efforts of industry; and that the spontaneous productions of the fields, would be rendered a common, and efficient, resource, in defiance of the rights of property, the fear of justice, or the denunciation of a lord, and master.

The Rights of Man, was industriously circulated by the same means Condorcet practised, in introducing the atheistical productions of his own day. *Every*

village alehouse had its political expounder; every market saw its rustic attendants intoxicated by the mischievous, and incomprehensible, declamations of a republican orator. The kingdom was inundated by revolutionary societies, and over-run by their agents, each of which carried on a regular correspondence with the demagogues in France, adulating their energies, in the cause of freedom, rejoicing with them in the humiliation of Majesty, and the distinctions of society, and promising to emulate their *glorious achievements* Every thing tended to confirm the prediction of Mr BURKE, that the French Revolution was intended as a signal to the whole world to rise, and destroy every vestige of religion, and government, and, with Gothic barbarity, to sweep from the face of the earth, all that skill, and genius, had contributed to its embellishment, and civilization.

The destruction of the Bastile, and other characteristics of the period of anarchy, were celebrated by seditious associations, in different parts of the kingdom, and such poison had the works of PAINE infused, by the asssistance of PRIESTLEY, and his colleagues, that the exercise of any species of control over domestics, and dependants, drew forth an impertinent retort—a threat alluding to anticipated changes, or other obnoxious jargon of anarchy, and such evident appearances of a national ferment, were daily exhibited, that the strongest measures of Government became indispensable, to preserve subordination.

But Mr. PITT, still averse to coercive measures, considered the present agitation of the public mind, as a natural concomitant of the tremendous concussion which had taken place in France; and trusted, when

men permitted their understanding to be convinced, by *sober reasoning*, and were divested of the enthusiasm which the new doctrines had created, the storm would subside, the misguided return to obedience, and be rendered sensible of the idle dreams from which had emanated their rebellious tenets: and the whole tenor of his conduct, at this important crisis, evinced a firm determination, neither to interfere in the internal arrangements of France, nor to implicate himself in any coalition, that might affect the peace and welfare of his own country.

During this state of things, the Parliament resumed its deliberations (January 31, 1792), and so distant was any prospect of hostilities with France, that his Majesty expressed the most confidential hopes of the existing tranquillity becoming permanent: and, anxious to alleviate the burdens of his subjects, suggested a reduction of the Naval and Military establishments. No other reference, indeed, was made to France from the Throne, than what an appropriate eulogium on the British Constitution might be conceived to infer: and surely a more delicate method could not have been selected, to attract the attention of the people of England, towards the substantial blessings, inherited from their ancestors.

Notwithstanding, however, the forbearance exemplified in his Majesty's Speech, Mr. Fox construed its concluding sentiments into an implied censure upon the principles of his party, which he attempted to vindicate by a severe philippic upon that tyranny which had been overthrown, at present, with no other apparent object, than to erect a foundation for the throne of anarchy, and by endeavouring to exculpate Dr. Priestley, and his seditious colleagues, from the

merited reprobation in which their conduct had been held

These panegyrics, and apologies, however, were by no means sanctioned by all his political friends, and certainly precipitated that dissention amongst his hitherto powerful adherents, which enabled Mr PITT to retain his situation, and accomplish all his purposes, by majorities more decisive than had ever before been witnessed in that House—an influence which was confirmed by the very flourishing exposition, he presented to the House, of the finances, and mercantile extensions, of the kingdom, circumstances from which he laid no claim either to merit, or reward, but handsomely attributed them, to the laudable enterprize of the British merchants, in opening new channels for trade, and commerce, by exploring fresh navigations, and establishing markets for traffic, in regions hitherto strangers to the intercourse of civilized society but he attached these happy results more especially, to that high character, for probity, and integrity, they possessed in every quarter of the globe, and which procured them a preference over all competitors

Having paid these just compliments to a class of men, whose labours at once expanded the honour, and the interests of the State, he drew a fine picture of the energies which the excellent system of the British Consitution was calculated to impart—which he emphatically implored the Parliament to protect in all its power, and purity and to let no new policy, no speculative innovations no untried theories, disarrange, or shake, the glorious fabric, built on the wisdom of ages, and cemented by the best blood of virtuous, and patriotic, citizens

PLUTARCH.

"*The Pilot that Weather'd the Storm.*"

LETTER XIX.

In the bad int'rest warps the canker'd heart,
The good are hoodwink'd by the tricks of art;
And, whilst arch subtle hypocrites contrive
To keep the flames of discontent alive;
Whilst they, with arts to honest men unknown,
Breed doubts between the people and the throne,
Making us fear where reason never yet
Allow'd one fear, or could one doubt admit,
Themselves pass unsuspected in disguise,
And 'gainst our real danger seal our eyes.

CHURCHILL.

THE energetic support of Mr. PITT, encouraged Mr. WILBERFORCE, again to appeal to the philanthrophy of the House, early in the present Sessions, upon the subject of the Slave Trade, which grand object of his anxiety he promoted in a considerable degree, in the first place, by effecting great mitigations in the sufferings of the unfortunate Africans, during the middle passage; in the second, by procuring the sanction of Parliament, to a progressive abolition of the unnatural traffic; and in the third, by appointing a period, when all further importations to British settlements should finally cease. In these deliberations, Mr. PITT evinced his abhorrence of contributing to national aggrandize-

, at the expence of humanity, and afforded a f that, amidst the labours of a Statesman, the es of Christianity, are neither abandoned, nor forten

The great extension of the metropolis, and its accuulating population, having rendered some improveents in the police, expedient, the establishment, at present existing, was suggested, and received the sanction of the Legislature, a circumstance which was deemed, by the opponents of Ministers, a sufficient precedent for innovation, and was, in consequence, succeeded by a motion from Mr GREY, for a Reform in Parliament, by abridging the duration of its sittings, and extending the Elective Franchise had this been a motion sponta neous from the heart, and at a period less fruitful in popular frenzy, very probably Mr PITT would have been satisfied with qualifying the proposition, consistent with the sentiments he had expressed at previous opportunities but, unhappily, Mr GREY had been instigated by one of those associations which had undone France, and to which it was certainly derogatory for any Member of the British Senate, either to become the patron, or abettor

Mr PITT was aware of the danger of this new method of talking to the multitude, of having the acts of Government canvassed, and censured, in private Forums and of the Representatives of the People, condescending to become the promulgators of systems of Legisla tion, engendered amidst prejudice, and malignity, accomplish private views, and adapted to tempor objects —" *The Friends of the People*," and ot similar denominations, were, no doubt, calculated fatuate the mob, and obtain for their members v

popularity; but to the better informed, an analogy to the schools of VOLTAIRE, D'ALEMBERT, WEISHAUPT, and other luminaries of the expiring century, was evident, and as such, were deprecated by every thinking man, every lover of his country, and tranquillity.

The views of Mr. GREY, and probably of a great majority of his new associates, were, no doubt, limited to certain desiderata, which all men would have rejoiced to have seen perfected; but there were also individuals acting in the same sphere, whose motives were *more* than doubtful, and whose subsequent *conduct*, and *fate*, have confirmed the suspicions entertained against the purity of *their* intentions, and the disinterestedness of *their* patriotism. Mr. PITT acknowledged he had himself been the warm advocate of Parliamentary Reform; he had struggled hard to obtain it, and had contended for it with a zeal not exceeded by that now exhibited by the Hon. Mover; and with hopes as sanguine, probably of the good effects to be deduced from his propositions, as those which filled the minds of his new colleagues—"*The friends of the People.*" But the times had changed their features; the kingdom was surrounded by anarchy; was agitated by unquiet spirits; by societies who cheered the aspect of rebellion—who adulated the unfeeling demagogues—who called upon England to emulate their treasons, and their homicides. Such then was rather a time to unite discordant politics, to secure what still remained to us of the constitutional privileges of our fathers, than to attempt improvements by speculative innovations, whose results were doubtful. Nothing could be said, nothing could be whispered on such a subject, at such a time, which did not involve questions of the most

extensive, the most serious, the most lasting importance to the people of this country, to the very being of he State And he confessed, he was afraid at this moment, that if the motion was agreed on by the House, the security of all the blessings we enjoyed, would be shaken to the foundation It would be to follow a madness, which had been called Liberty, in another country, a condition, at war with freedom, and good order, a state to which despotism itself was preferable, a state in which Liberty could not exist for a day, if it appeared in the morning, it must perish before sun-set

By such wise and moderate proceedings, the Minister succeeded in persuading the House to negative Mr Grey's motion, but prudently conceiving, that when persons of dubious reputation and loyalty, saw themselves countenanced, by individuals high in talent, and estimation, they would, in process of time, become more and more presumptuous, more bold in their practice, and indefatigable in disseminating their theories, and perceiving how rapidly the political quacks in England, were assimilating their associations to the clubs in Paris, that similar connections were daily promoted, the same intercourse daily increasing, the same subtlety of action, governing, and directing all, he considered the interposition of the Government no longer prudent to be delayed A simple, but at the same time, animated Proclamation, commenting on the blessings, and advantages, *so equally participated* by all ranks of subjects, under the mild sway of his present Majesty, and his illustrious ancestors, and pointing out the peculiar duty of every good citizen, to discourage, and counteract, every attempt, direct or indirect,

against public order and tranquillity, was accordingly issued. The Opposition viewed this document, as decidedly, and pointedly, hostile to their party; as prohibitory to all attempts to procure a Reform in Parliament; as indiscriminately vilifying every political society; as calculated to provoke, rather than suppress, tumult and disorder, and to convert Magistrates into spies and informers.

The more judicious part of the community, however, were not be deceived, and hailed the Proclamation, rather as the kind admonitions of a watchful parent, than the harsh mandate of power; and this Proclamation, as the basis of the future measures adopted by Mr. PITT's Administration, may be deemed the salvation of all the happiness and independence we have retained amidst groaning millions, harassed by despotism, impoverished by ambition, and insulted by usurpation.

PLUTARCH.

"The Pilot that Weather'd the Storm"

LETTER XX

Thou God above! on whom all States depend,
Who knowest, from the first, their rise and end,
If there's a day mark'd in the book of fate,
When ruin must involve our equal state,
When Law, alas! must be no more, and we,
To freedom born, must be no longer free,
Let not a mob of tyrants seize the helm!

CHURCHILL.

In the mean time, the vortex of revolution was unfolding its multiplied horrors, and convinced every man, of penetration, and reflexion, that, to avoid the fate of France, was to oppose an effectual barrier to the introduction of the dangerous doctrines, which the philosophers, and illuminees, had too successfully impressed, upon the minds of that generation, which, unhappily, imbibed the unrighteous, anti-social, and disloyal principles, from the corrupted academies established under their auspices. It was now discovered, that the system of WEISHAUPT, was not a local evil, that hatred to an individual Deity, did not inspire the

compositions of VOLTAIRE, nor antipathy to the throne of the BOURBONS, alone engender the malevolence of D'ALEMBERT, and his colleagues; but that the whole universe was to be released from the social tie, and the restraints of humanity. That not only the altars of JESUS were to be subverted, but the cross, the crescent, the symbols of every GOD, and the type of every virtue, were to form one promiscuous group, to follow the chariot of blasphemy on the triumphal day of atheism. And, finally, that thrones, sceptres, and diadems, were no longer to designate honour, and command respect, but to point out victims, for the hand of treason, and assassination. With what other motives were emissaries of jacobinism, so profusely scattered over Europe. With what other views were peaceable, and contented, nations, invited to fraternize with regenerated France? Why was every monarchy indiscriminately deprecated as the seat of despotism, and injustice? Why was republicanism extolled with such rapturous declamations, if not to excite revolt, and the slaughter of royal dynasties? Why were armies organized to propagate the *new freedom?* Why were the ensigns of war advanced to the frontier, where yet no enemies were visible? And, why were the seditious deputations, from neighbouring kingdoms, caressed and flattered, whilst all legal power, and Government, was insulted, nay, denounced, as inimical to the *rights of man?*

Moreover, the deposition of a meek, and too merciful KING, was hailed as the climax of republican glory, proclaimed as a bright example for all nations to emulate, and the preposterous doctrine of the "*Right of*

Insurrection," so consummated, was inscribed by hands yet reeking with the sanguinary sacrifice, as the sublimest action of enlightened man The day appeared to have dawned, when the grossest perversion was to seduce, and mislead, the world from those sacred establishments, which revolving centuries had matured for individual protection and general good; when Vandalism was again to dye the waters with blood, spread pestilence over the land, and overthrow all the pride of science and refinement. It was a day which seemed to have given birth, to a deluge of diabolical opinions, let loose from the caverns of hell to eradicate virtue from earth

Was it possible, then, that Mr Pitt could permit the disciples of jacobinism to increase unmolested, and observe the engines of treason fabricated with unconcern? Could he see the clouds of destruction accumulating around the State, and the hosts of sedition threaten with impunity? Could he tamely read the assurances of Parisian demagogues, to succour the disaffected citizens of every Empire, in the cause of Monarchical emancipation? Could he see all this in review before him, and remain the supine witness of sedition, whilst every street vibrated with its roar? Or could he preserve the swords of Englishmen in their scabbards, whilst their enemies' standards floated triumphantly over friendly kingdoms, and from the shores of nations in alliance, challenged them to the conflict?

No—By the laws of his country he discomfited domestic treason, and by the valour of her arms he prepared to defend her against the assaults which were

to be made upon her tranquillity and independence; but though war was inevitable, he threw the responsibility upon his enemy, and did not advance a single battalion, until the hostile trumpets of France, called them to that contest, to which a lapse of nearly twenty years, appears to promise a yet more protracted and a more fatal duration.

PLUTARCH.

" *The Pilot that Weather'd the Storm.*"

LETTER XXI.

——— Not unconscious of this awful age,
I mark what new conflicting Sophists rage,
Sophists, who laugh to scorn th' avenging rod,
And hurl defiance to the throne of God;
Shake pestilence abroad with madd'ning sweep,
And grant no pause—but everlasting sleep!
Blood guiltiness their crime with hell they cope,
No flesh, no spirit, now must rest in hope,
But under foliage dark, and cypress gloom,
The sculptur'd mock'ry marks and seals the tomb.

Pursuits of Literat

Before we enter on the sanguinary conflicts, of hostile nations—before we trespass on that new, and important, era in the life of Mr. Pitt, which, in the judgment of posterity, must tarnish the laurels of his youth, or impart to his maturer years, wreaths more blooming, and a brighter glory, let us examine how far the events of the French Revolution, sanction a conviction of their tremendous birth, being the premeditated objects of that phalanx of infatuated mortals, whom we *have charged with colleaguing, in triple* malevolence, against every altar, every throne, and every institute of social life.

In vain shall we look for the *radical* causes of this

revolution, in a succession of imbecile Ministers—Factious Parliaments—Financial embarrassments, or the usual combinations antecedent to great political discussions. No! to the manes of VOLTAIRE, ROUSSEAU, D'ALEMBERT, and their Royal Patron; of WEISHAUPT, and his associated Demons, should be ascribed the exclusive honour of achievements, surpassing Eastern Slaughter—Herodean Cruelty—and Barbarian Indifference, to human misery.

Need we more convincing evidence, of the wide dissemination, of Anti-christian doctrines, than that which the fragments of every altar, within the reign of anarchy exhibit; need the vestiges of diadems and coronets, and the headless trunks of their once revered possessors, be revived; need the pontifical insignia—the defiled Vessels of the temples of Omnipotence—the anointed garments of the consecrated servants of Heaven, mutilated and disfigured by irreverent fanatics, be presented to our imaginations; need every polluted sanctuary be explored, and every blood-stained ruin speak; need the last sighs of immolated, and exiled, pillaged, and persecuted Ecclesiastics, again vibrate in our ears; need the sacrilegious obsequies of VOLTAIRE, or the blasphemous apotheosis of ROUSSEAU, again blast our sight, ere we are confirmed in the belief, that all were the effects of a gradual education, imbibed in the schools of sophistry, and impiety; and of instruction, systematically inculcated, to eradicate from earth, the gratitude of man, to his Maker and Redeemer?

Is it necessary to descend into the vaults of HECATE, and refresh our memories with the shades of faithless Counsellors; to repeat the incongruous discussions of

the *Tiers Etat* to be again disgusted, with the frantic declamations, of the *Tennis Court*, or the pantomimic perambulations, of the self-constituted *National Assembly*, again to listen to the rhapsodies of MIRABEAU, to see a second LA FAYETTE a courtier to the mob, another BAILLIE forsworn, to head his citizens in deeds of riot, the stars of heaven *again obscured* by illuminations for accomplished treasons another SOMBREUIL, and another DE LAUNAY, born to instruct the world in treachery and cowardice are all these indispensable, to satisfy us, of the long labouring conspiracy against the thrones, and dignities, of Princes?

Must another ORLEANS arise, surrounded by his imps of darkness, and destruction, to organize a second march of poissardes, and banditti to heap more horrid tumuli over the charnel houses of ruffians, assassins, and incendiaries to repeat new orgies, at the shrine of murder, and render permanent, conflagration, blood, and parricide, need such exhibitions again affright the world, to tell us that a WEISHAUPT lived, and that misanthropy had left its woods, and the silent haunts, of solitude, to stalk at mid day, with the dagger, and the chalice?

But to follow, step by step, the insatiable fiend, who, in the hideous costume of the *new-born Liberty*, has left, in every province of the fruitful empire, of the once idolized race of CAPET, indelible emblems of his vindictive embassy, would only be recalling, what can never fail to extract the tear of compassion, from every human eye, which shall hereafter search the page of history, destined to be impressed, with the dismal characters, of the times, times which have witnessed a too lenient, too forgiving Monarch, led through multiplied

torments, to an untimely end; and thrown, like a malefactor, in an unhallowed, unrespected grave. No pious requiem, no solemn dirge, no expiatory masses, accompanying the awful ceremonies, of the sepulchre, but descending to eternal rest, greeted only by the indignities of rebellion, amidst palaces, resounding with satanic tumult, and cities blazing, like the alembic of hell.

Were there yet wanting an object to excite emotions of sympathy, for suffering greatness, let us embrace, within our mortal eye, a being that could excite a description so eloquent, so fascinating, so pathetic as this. " It is now," observes Mr. BURKE, in his *Reflections on the French Revolution*, " sixteen, or seventeen, years since I saw the Queen of FRANCE, then the Dauphiness, at Versailles; and surely never lighted on this orb, which she hardly seemed to touch, a more delightful vision. I saw her just above the horizon, decorating and cheering the elevated sphere, she just began to move in, glittering like the morning star, full of life, and splendour, and joy. Oh! What a Revolution! and what an heart must I have, to contemplate, without emotion, that elevation, and that fall! Little did I dream that, when she added titles of veneration, to those of enthusiastic, distant, respectful love, she should ever be obliged to carry the sharp antidote against disgrace, concealed in that bosom; little did I dream, that I should have lived, to see such disasters, fallen upon her, in a nation of gallant men, in a nation of men of honor, and of cavaliers. I thought a thousand swords must have leaped from their scabbards, to avenge even a look, that threatened her with insult.—But the age of chivalry is gone—that of Sophisters,

Œconomists, and Calculators, has succeeded, and the glory of Europe is extinguished for ever Never, never more, shall we behold that generous loyalty, to rank, and sex, that proud submission, that dignified obedience, that subordination of the heart, which kept alive, even in servitude itself, the spirit of an exalted freedom The unbought grace of life, the cheap defence of nations, the nurse of manly sentiment, and heroic enterprise, is gone! It is gone—that sensibility of principle, that chastity of honour, which felt a stain like a wound, which inspired courage whilst it mitigated ferocity, which ennobled whatever it touched, and under which vice itself, lost half its evil, by losing all its grossness '

Let us place this lovely portrait before us, I say, and then if we close the melancholy narrative, unsubdued by the humid expressions of pity, we may, indeed, congratulate ourselves upon our elevation to Philosophism, upon our perfect initiation into those Anti-Christian, Anti Monarchical, and Anti Social Mysteries, which have brought France to the period of retribution she is now fulfilling

PLUTARCH

"*The Pilot that Weather'd the Storm.*"

LETTER XXII.

Go, then, Britons! forth,
Your Country's daring Champions; tell your foes,
Tell them in thunders o'er their prostrate land,
You were not born for slaves; let all your deeds
Shew that the Sons of those immortal men,
The Stars of shining glory, are not slow
In virtue's path to emulate their Sires,
T' assert their country's rights, avenge her Sons,
And hurl the bolts of justice o'er her foes.

AKENSIDE.

DR. MOORE observes, in his view of society, and manners, in France, that notwithstanding the discontent, which at that period existed, the manœuvre of dismissing a Minister, would, in a moment, restore all the Monarch's popularity, and that the people would desire no other Bill of Rights, than the *Lettre de Cachet*, which should incarcerate the obnoxious individual, in the dungeons of the Bastile. This *was* the true character of Frenchmen, they exulted in the power of their *Grand Monarque:* they were proud of the tyranny, which oppressed them. The summary vengeance of despotism, was suited to the volatile temperament of their constitutions; to brood over sorrows, was incon-

sistent with their dispositions, and they would suffer any aggression with impunity, provided it did not detain them long from their songs, and dancing

How the evil genius, and industry, of a few individuals, succeeded in perverting these inherent qualities, has been already shown The course of the falling star was not (to public appearance) more rapid, than their transition, from a blind enthusiasm to a deadly antipathy to Thrones and Princes—but in *silence*, and *secrecy*, the serpent bereft them of all that was amiable, and affectionate. Loyalty, and gratitude, were incompatible with the doctrines, of regeneration

At the commencement of the revolutionary war, France, in a moral point of view, resembled a chaos, and the neighbouring nations stood around her, like spectators upon the verge of an awful precipice, shuddering at the heterogeneous, unorganized, principles, and embryo theories, that convulsed the horrible expanse

Her political state was similar to a grand lazaretto, impregnated by a loathsome epidemic, whose fatal virus first froze the heart with apathy, and, ascending to the mind, usurped the seat of reason, making a wreck of honour, piety, and virtue

An Empire thus distracted, and with no other Legislative Power, than a wild, and mischievous enthusiasm, could not fail to excite alarm, in the breast of every prudent Statesman; red with the carnage of the guillotine, breathless with anathemas against all regular, constituted, authorities, with no creed but the *Rights of Man*, no object of worship than the *bonnet rouge*, the puppets of a multitude, emancipated from every religious, and moral obligation, presumed to talk of

good faith, confidence, and national honour. Mr. PITT was averse to war; it was not in martial fields he had traced the foundations of his glory—peace was the only state, that could prove auspicious to that public prosperity, which his financial arrangements, were intened to promote; and from their operation, he anticipated a renown, more precious, than the shouts of triumphant legions. But the National Convention, by their Decree of Fraternization, passed in November, 1792, had consummated that system of audacity, which had marked their conduct towards every foreign Power; and unlesss he wished the indignities of Versailles, to be repeated at Windsor—the sanguinary catastrophe of the Thuilleries, to be revived at St. James's—and the whole island converted into a frightful Golgotha, procrastination, in the means of combating the savage principles of anarchy, was no longer admissible.

It was not for a few degrees of territory, a breach of diplomatic etiquette, or the paltry privilege of bartering the trumpery of Birmingham, and Sheffield, with an uncivilized tribe of America, that we were called upon to arm—but it was in defence of the civil, and political, rights, derived as a legacy from the Great ALFRED; and the fruits of that magnanimous patriotism, with which the plains of Runnymede reverberated, not with shrieks and groans from human hecatombs, but with the acclamations of renewed allegiance, and respectful freedom.

Whatever, Mr. PITT observed, could raise the feelings or animate the exertions of a people, combined to prompt us to the contest, the contempt which the French had displayed for a neutrality rigidly observed

on our part, the repeated violations of their plighted faith, their presumptuous attempts to interfere in the Government of this Country, to arm our subjects against ourselves, to vilify a Monarch the object of our gratitude, our reverence, and our affections, and to separate the Court, from the People, by representing them as influenced by different motives, and acting from different interests, after provocations so wanton, so often repeated, and so highly aggravated, this became on our part a war of honour, a war necessary to assert the spirit of the nation, and the dignity of the British name. We did not enter the lists, for the gratification of ambition, or aggrandizement, but to maintain our independence against an enemy, who sought to destroy the whole fabric of our Constitution These considerations, afforded him encouragement, and consolation, and would support him in the discharge of the painful task his duty had imposed upon him

Such arguments, however, far from justified him in the opinion of his opponents, who extenuated all the excesses of the *Revolution*, attributing its *harshest* features to a momentary impulse of zeal, which would soon evaporate, and soften, into a judicious, and temperate, struggle for liberty. A Noble Peer, in a fervor of eloquence, no doubt, exulted in the friendship of one elevated monster I disdain to name, as a man conspicuous for virtues, and talents, even the atrocious ROBESPIERRE, DANTON, and MARAT, found advocates in the British Senate, to palliate their crimes, and homicides, and there was no aggression, or tyranny on the part of France, but was deemed by the same individuals excusable, and meriting the forbearance of the British Minister. "Though," observed Mr. BURKE,

in Europe—an alliance which must have become irresistible, could unanimity have been preserved, between the respective chiefs. Why it failed in its objects—why it was dissolved—and the consequences of that dissolution, the course of my memoir will, I trust, develop satisfactorily, to the honor, talents, and reputation, of its great projector.

The infidel banners of France, had hitherto been planted victoriously, at every accessible point, on her extensive frontier. Germany had been violated—the Netherlands overrun—Holland invaded—the Throne of Sardinia overthrown, and the neutrality of Genoa, Geneva, and Switzerland, infringed—without any plausible apology, without any other justification of so gross an outrage on the laws, and rights, of Nations, than was to be found in the rhapsodies, perpetually emanating, from the frantic brains, of the Brissotins—the Girondists—and the Jacobins—compositions which, divested of their sophistry, hypocrisy and hyperbole, breathed the most rancorous libels, upon every system of Government, and were in every other respect, as perfidious, and wicked, as the blackest hearts of the three most inhuman, and impious, factions that ever harassed society, could dictate.

The political Bulls, of the republican crusaders, preceded the march of their ferocious troops, and formed an auxiliary more powerful, than the science of the veteran, and the yet unconquered phalanx. To the ambitious they said, " here is the axe, glut it in the life-blood of your rulers, and ye shall be exalted"—to the avaricious, " here is the poignard—plant it in the breasts of your masters, and benefactors, and their treasures shall be strewed before you." To the blas-

phemer, " here are the speculations of VOLTAIRE, and the reveries of ROUSSEAU—read them, forget there is an avenging GOD, and gratify your worst appetites with impunity." To the disaffected, and the indolent, " we bring you liberty, and EQUALITY; labour no more in rags and poverty, to deck an individual with ermine, to oppress and enslave you. Lurk *no more*, ye robbers, in the darkness of night, or in the obscurity of the forest, behold the mansions of your first citizens exposed to your pillage; ye are no longer amenable to the laws, satiate your rapacity. Despair no more, ye adulterers, the wives of your neighbours shall not dare refuse their embraces. Hesitate no longer, ye seducers, virgin honour shall not restrain your passions. Ye sacred retirements, where the virtuous pay their pious homage to the GOD of Nature, *open your* consecrated doors, to lust, and sacrilege. Ye *Holy* Fanes, impressed with the feet of Saints, and Martyrs, yield up your votive offerings dedicated to the *service* of Omnipotence, to pay the wages of sin and unrighteousness." Such was the *essence* of their *dangerous* compilations, and so *overwhelming*, and *destructive*, were the principles of the invaders, that *friendship lost* its confidence; suspicion corrupted the ties of consanguinity, and the consolations of *religion*, were *mingled* with fear, and trembling.

No selfish views, or national aggrandizement, influenced MR. PITT, in his *endeavours*, to *frustrate the* establishment of universal anarchy, and the further dissemination of those levelling principles, which could only be accomplished by violence—the destruction of property—and the annihilation of the superior ranks of society. He had no other motive than the preserv-

tion of religion, and justice; the deliverance of the people of France, from a sanguinary tyranny, to afford them the choice of an equitable Consitution, unawed by the dreadful engines by which terror maintained her dominion over them—and the unbiassed election of a constitutional King, who should restore that peace, and happiness, which alienated as they had been, from every benevolent feeling, and the mild affections of humanity, seemed lost to them for ever. It was not his intention to enter France, with the career of a despoiler, to aggravate her misfortunes, dismember her provinces, and usurp her throne; but to exterminate the vultures, and harpies that had been banquetting upon the spoils of innocence—to bid her plains and vallies again smile with the blossoms of harvest—her palaces, resume their regal glories—her altars be again irradiated with holy zeal—and her seats of justice adorned with virtuous magistrates.

Such was the cause, sanctioned by the Senate, and the Nation, in which Mr. Pitt embarked the energies of his Country. It is true the result hitherto has not been auspicious to humanity, or the political welfare and independence of Europe; but to the brilliancy of the British name, it has added many rays of splendor, and reflects a lustre on his own, which can never tarnish.

At this period, much despondency prevailed in the public mind, in consequence of numerous failures, amongst the principal merchants, arising from a spirit of enterprise, inconsistent with the existing state of the Continent; but the prompt genius, and liberal conduct of the Minister, soon dissipated these gloomy forebodings, and timely pecuniary assistance, with other ar-

rangements suggested by the wisest policy, succeeded in restoring credit, and prosperity.

This circumstance, however, the Opposition thought proper to attribute to the war alone, and brought forward a motion for proposing overtures of pacification to the French Government, although it had not acquired stability in any one feature, or department, that could promise permanency, either to its domestic, or foreign politics. The opinion of such a pusillanimous proposal, was expressed in Parliament by a majority of 282 against 20, and out of it by the undisguised indignation, of a proportionate majority of the Country.

Still not discouraged, and bent upon obstructing the operations of Ministers, the subject of Parliamentary Reform was revived, and Mr. PITT challenged to redeem the pledge he had so often given when out of power. In reply, the Premier acknowledged his former opinions, and boldly declared the same sentiments were still seated in his mind; a change, he admitted, was desirable; but he deprecated the time, and also the plan now proposed; which, he asserted, was as contrary to that suggested by himself, as the system of his opponents, was inimical to the Constitution. Universal suffrage, urged so vehemently by the Hon. Mover (Mr. GREY), he denied ever to have formed part of his arrangements, which went only to regulate the right to return members to Parliament, by adding to it in some few instances, where the increase of population demanded; at the expense of others, when by a contrary inclination the elective franchise, had sunk into an injurious monopoly.

With respect to the time, selected for agitating so

important a question, it was equally ill-chosen; he was satisfied that nine hundred out of a thousand of the people of England were so convinced of the blessings of their Constitution as it now stood, and of the lenity they enjoyed under its administration, when compared with the melancholy example in an adjacent kingdom; that so far from wishing to touch it, with an innovating hand, they were prepared to defend it against every attack. He reminded his audience that there were two hundred and fifty persons, who possessed an equal voice in the Legislature with the House of Commons; that there was a KING, who, to the third of the Legislature, added the whole of the Executive Power; and that if this principle, of individual suffrage, were permitted, and carried to its legitimate extent, it went to subvert the peerage, to depose the KING; in fact, to extinguish every hereditary distinction, and every privileged order, and to establish that system of equalizing anarchy which was announced in the code of French Legislation, and attested with the blood of Parisian massacres!

After these discussions, Parliament was prorogued, leaving the country in astonishment and admiration of the great powers, both of genius and eloquence, which had been displayed by their favourite Minister, and under a firm conviction that the councils of the nation, were still animated by the mighty spirit of their lamented CHATHAM.

PLUTARCH.

" The Pilot that Weather'd the Storm."

LETTER XXIV.

Is law to be perverted from her course?
Is abject fraud to league with brutal force?
Is freedom to be crush'd ———————
——————————— Are Kings
To be abus'd, and made to draw their breath
In darkness thicker than the shades of death?
Is GOD's most holy name to be profan'd,
His word rejected, His laws arraign'd,
His servants scorn'd, as men who idly dream'd,
His service laugh'd at, and his Son blasphem'd?
Are debauchees in morals to preside?
Is Faith to take an Atheist for her guide?
Is Science by a blockhead to be led?
Are States to totter on a drunkard's head?
To answer all their purposes, and more,
More black than ever villain plann'd before
Search earth, search hell, the DEVIL cannot find,
An agent, like LOTHARIO, to his mind

CHURCHILL

LIKE a temporary foundation, the first incursions of the republican armies were unresisted, because unexpected, but no sooner were the disciplined troops of the confederacy, brought into the field, than the French Generals found it prudent to evacuate their dishonourable conquests, and to retrace, with famine and death, for the companions of their inexperienced battalions, the paths which their inconsiderate rapine had desolated

The denounced, and beaten General, however, soon discovered that his authority, faded with his laurels, and that the disorganized state of the kingdom, to which himself had so greatly contributed, was too congenial with the dispositions of the banditti he sought to make the instruments of his new infatuation, to induce them to forego the hopes of licentious freedom, which the absence of all civil, and religious, restrictions, permitted them to indulge, and, with the exception of a few hundred men, his army dispersed at discretion—those, in expectation of future conquests, *repairing to* the adjacent garrisons others anxious to dissipate the plunder already acquired, hastened to the *theatre* of iniquity, and moral turpitude, which the metropolis at that time presented

Mr PITT beheld, with indignation, this moment, so propitious to the cause of the allies, wasted in the supine operations of sieges, instead of inspiring that vigorous precision, and intrepidity, necessary to turn the consternation which evidently prevailed amongst the wretches still domineering in Paris, to the advantage of those objects for which hostilities had been commenced Valenciennes, Condé, and Quesnoy, it is true, were the fruits of these manœuvres, and, upon the whole, the campaign might have been considered brilliant, had the common display of *military tactics* only been practicable but against a promiscuous multitude, unaccustomed to arms, and ignorant *even* of the mechanical duties of the parade, some decisive blow was, with reason, anticipated, *in vain, however*, were such expectations cherished The time [illegible] in entrenching, and bombardments, afforded [illegible] tunity for the enthusiasm of the people to [illegible], and

this man governed the modern aspirers to political freedom, no Asiatic despot was more promptly obeyed, whether his orders were for the application of the *national razor*, to *one* innocent victim, or for the indiscriminate massacre of a *thousand*. His recruiting system, accompanied by every attribute of tyranny, was modelled from those expeditions of the barbarians of Africa, undertaken against their weaker neighbours, for the purpose of promoting that unnatural traffic, of which Europe is at length ashamed, and resolving to find an equivalent in numbers, for whatever was defective in the discipline, of his conscripts, or the science of their Commanders, in a few weeks half a million of deluded, oppressed, and intoxicated wretches, shook their weapons in defiance, to the coalesced Potentates of Europe and, though unattended by the "pomp, pride, and circumstance of war," unskilled in the evolutions of its most destructive engines, were nevertheless inspired with that degree of frantic enthusiasm, which, in particular instances, compensates for the absence of art, and the deliberate valour indispensable to form the hero

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LETTER XXV.

And thou, whose sable pinions, wide out spread
O'er all the west Cimmerian darkness shed,
Known by the phrenzy'd eye, the blood stain'd vest,
The Gorgon horrors gleaming on thy crest.
Democracy! than whom no direr fiend
Did e'er from hell's deep gloom to earth ascend;
Oh! gender'd when primeval darkness reign'd,
And lawless anarchy her throne maintain'd;
That lov'st to mount the rapid whirlwind's wing,
And hear the savage midnight tempests sing;
Or, basking in the lightning's fearful blaze,
On the wreck'd globe to dart thy raptur'd gaze;
On burning towns and palaces o'erthrown,
And hear'st, unmov'd, expiring nature groan;
Dragg'd to thine altars, what a countless throng,
Slaughter'd like beasts, the shriek of death prolong!
Nor these of vulgar fame, or humble birth,
But, of the noblest line, the proudest worth;
All that in virtue, talents, genius shine,
Swell the dire carnage round thy gory shrine.

MAURICE.

THE Minister of a free country ought to be endowed with nerves of iron, the patience of philosophy, and the confidence of a martyr. To be convinced of this truth, we need but refer to our Parliamentary Reports (to say nothing of the Diurnal Prints), and were a selection to be made from thence of the speeches of the Opposition, it would appear, that every Prime Minister,

that ever presided at the helm of the British Government, had been inimical to the Constitution, and a *decided enemy of his country.*

Had not patriotism, predominated over ambition, in the breast of Mr. PITT, it is absolutely impossible to conceive that any man could have consented to remain liable, to the torrent of invective, personal insult, and unjustifiable implications, to which he was exposed, during the Sessions of 1794. Never, perhaps, was *more determined antipathy to an individual* exhibited —never was the rancour of party, and the spleen of disappointment, more shamefully conspicuous, more rudely, or more vehemently promulgated

To promote the purpose of faction, domestic traitors heard their convicted infamy, palliated in the most brilliant strains of eloquence. Regicides, received political absolution, from British Senators, whilst the uncanonized victims of their treason, still infected the air. All consistency of principle, all regard to future fame, and present honour, were sacrificed to the impulses of an hypocritical enthusiasm, wisdom, and experience, perverted their characteristics, to render the young, and ignorant, instruments of private passions, the excesses of anarchy, were softened into virtuous bursts of national indignation, and all the calamities of rebellion, represented as an ordeal, indispensably necessary, to purify the errors of antiquity, and eradicate modern corruption The checks of lawful authority—the mildest exercise of prerogative—were defined to the people as synonimous with despotism, and the symbols of magistracy, as the rod of oppression, and the chains of slavery.

Thus excited, popular discontent and public com-

motions present nothing mysterious in their nature: alas! will the credulity of mankind eternally deceive them—will no examples instruct them? Whether CÆSAR sway the sceptre of the Empire, with his brows irradiated with gems, or BRUTUS surrounded with cynical simplicity—that it is the *inward* man *who is the tyrant still*; and that democracy—that bane of public peace, is a mere phantom, by which the aspirants to power, in all ages, and in all countries, have deluded their constituents; a time-serving doctrine, impregnating the vulgar mind, with the mischievous conception, that all restraints, moral or political, unsanctioned by the unthinking multitude, are but the impositions of aristocratical usurpation.

Vest the sovereign authority, nominally in one or many, the talent of the profoundest Statesman, or the intrepidity of the boldest soldier, will always controul or apply it. An ALEXANDER will reach his zenith, in contempt of the harangues of a DEMOSTHENES; a SOLON will accomplish his exaltation, and preserve his influence, in defiance of cabal, and prejudice—and the individual genius of an ALFRED, will do more for public welfare, in a day, than the deliberations of assembled millions in an age.

What regard was ever paid to that prostitute of faction, the "*vox populi*," beyond the porter quaffed at an election, or the gold, which purchased the *independant* suffrage? Did the puritanical CROMWELL appeal to it, when *he* became Protector? Did *he* submit his ambitious projects, to the scrutiny of "The Majesty of the People?" Did ROBESPIERRE consult the dignity of "The Sovereign of the People," when he instituted the laws of the conscription? Or did BUONAPARTE

do homage to the principles of democracy, when he bade the Roman Pontiff proclaim him "the Lord's anointed" How long then will the people consent to be cajoled, by the rant of demagogues, and the chimeras of theoretic politicians?

The mob, devoid of intellect, appreciate those only, who will condescend to level all distinctions who will tell them uproar is their privilege, idleness their birthright, and licentiousness their proper pastime To this inconstant hydra, which self-ordained patriots worship, whilst they *bawl for liberty* and *pine for power*, Mr Pitt was held forth for execration Every act of his Government, was brought precipitately, under discussion, and censured with a spirit of malevolence, unexampled—he was pointed at, as the abridger of public privilege—the author of every burden, the precarious times rendered inevitable—the advocate of implacable warfare, and the determined enemy of freedom He was reprobated as a political quack, as an officious meddler in the internal arrangements of States—an arbitrary intruder, into the counsels of an oppressed people, struggling for independence Vexatious interrogatories, and procrastinated debates, appeared also a part of the extraordinary combination of incidents, selected for the purpose of embarrassing his Administration, wounding his private feelings, and occasioning him personal mortification, and inconvenience

If he augmented the army, it was to strenthen despotism If he granted a subsidy, it was unavailing prodigality, depriving his countrymen of necessaries, to pamper the luxuries of Aliens If he employed an auxiliary force, that he might be more frugal of native blood, save our wives from widowhood, our children from

being fatherless, it was an abrogation of the Bill of Rights—impeachable and unpardonable: If he hoisted the standard of loyalty, to remind the misguided of their allegiance, it was promoting civil discord: If he accepted voluntary personal service, or pecuniary contributions, his policy was stigmatized as dangerous.

Such indiscriminate condemnation, such unwarrantable perversion, rather excited Mr. Pitt's contempt, than the humiliating gratification, which was perhaps anticipated. He was sensible, he possessed the favourable sentiments of the loyal, the reasonable, and the disinterested; he was sensible also, of conscientious rectitude; he was only vulnerable consistent with human frailty, and experienced no anxiety but from the possible failure of projects, undertaken for the welfare of his country.

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LETTER XXVI.

Jaffier.—Then honesty is but a notion?
Pierre.—Nothing else;
Like wit, much talk'd of, not to be defin'd,
He that pretends to most, too, has least share in't;
'Tis a ragged virtue: Honesty! no more on't.

OTWAY.

But although the inflammatory rhetoric of the Opposition phalanx, failed to intimidate Mr. Pitt, or swerve him from his fixed determination, to oppose the modern revolutionary principles, the impression it made amongst the converts to Gallic Republicanism, very speedily became evident—the conviction of Skirving, Margarot, and Gerald, at Edinburgh, at the commencement of the present year, gave rise to an expression of sentiment, from all classes of the community, the most flattering to the Minister, and consolatory to the Sovereign. Notwithstanding, however, these discouraging circumstances, to the disaffected cause, the zeal with which it was advocated, by individuals *of talent, influence, and consequence,* in the Legislature, increased the temerity of the seditious, and emboldened them to persevere in a system so immediately imitative of Parisian anarchy, that no

possible doubt could be entertained of the secret objects of their association.

Mr. PITT perceived, from the earliest emanations of the French Revolution, that by elevating those, who had courage to render themselves conspicuous in its tremendous eruption, it would dazzle the understandings of the multitude, and excite the ambition of turbulent, discontented, and obscure, individuals of other States. These conjectures were soon confirmed, by the innumerable clubs of Jacobins, and Reformists, which the propagation of PAINE's chimeras, industriously established in every part of the kingdom. In these Societies, the blessings of unconstrained inclinations, as accomplished by the *intrepid virtues* of the French citizens, were loudly extolled, and oblique suggestions of the means, by which such *bright examples,* were to be repeated, were profusely intermingled with their invidious harangues. They cruelly taught their disciples, that the wealth of the nation would form but one common purse—that happiness would be derived from one common source—that independence would be the lot of all—devoid of labour—devoid of care—devoid of any thought beyond the passing moment—and that all earthly pleasures would remain, for indiscriminate participation, like the sunshine and the rain. They adopted, in the most servile manner, the proceedings, ceremonies, and nomenclature, of the clubs in Paris; and as ROBESPIERRE was at that period in "*meridian horror,*" we must presume he was the *high divinity*, to whom they paid their vows, and invoked to be propitious to *their godlike* undertakings.

Such dangerous principles, could not fail to render obedience irksome, and to induce a senseless rabble, to

ard the laws as unnatural shackles, and the administrators of them, as obdurate tyrants

The public antipathy, to Magisterial Authority, being thus fermented, and assurances given, that the day of retribution against their oppressors was at hand, they were instructed to employ the intermediate time between slavery, and emancipation, in contemplating the glorious achievements of their *brethren*, in France, to whom Delegates were continually dispatched, to report the progress of conspiracy, and to solicit counsel from their *experience*, in the sanguinary acts of rebellion

The reception of these deputations in Paris, was such as rendered the designs of that Government, no longer equivocal, it exhorted the revolutionary *novices*, to persevere, in cultivating the *divine spirit of insurrection*, and promised support, or protection, as circumstances should require this, too, whilst the nations were at peace whilst their Ambassador was solemnly proclaiming the disposition of his Government to be amicable, and sincerely desirous to preserve the good understanding which existed during the ancient *regime* Is there then one amongst us, who, professing attachment to the Constitution and the Monarchy, will yield implicit assent to the doctrine which prohibits interference in the internal governments of neighbouring kingdoms? For what are alliances fo[illegible] [illegible] for what is the balance of power supported? [illegible] to assist the weak, and arm the defenceless [illegible] *military hostility* Are Kings to see [illegible] Powers coalescing around them, and [illegible] contribute to their own proscriptions? Shall [illegible] endure to see their subjects weaned from [illegible]

and not remonstrate with the arrogant seducer? Shall they have their names coupled with infamy, and not obliterate the audacious record? Shall every Magna Charta be cancelled; the labours of ancestry cast into oblivion; the statutes of wise Legislators, honest Counsellors, and learned Lawgivers, be annihilated, for the fabrications of SIEYES and a TALLEYRAND, or the absurd *Senatus Consultum*, and intemperate decrees, of an infuriated Usurper?—Shall blasphemy be tolerated upon our borders; an indiscriminate intercourse established, between our wives, and daughters, and every vile miscreant, whose dissipations have left him a lust to gratify? Shall every germ of virtue be eradicated from the mind of our youth, and the whole kingdom be delivered a prey to lawless appetite? Shall Europe discover such an atrocious monster in her bosom, and so far forget her chivalry, as not to struggle to the last extremity, to divest herself of the preposterous intruder? Shall nothing but the edge of the sword arouse her noble dynasties, to emulate the glorious emprise of their progenitors? Or shall colonies of Atheists, King-killers, and Constitution-mongers, impregnate all her States with perjury, conflagration, and murder; and revel amidst the varied beauties of her realms, whilst her degenerate sons, remain passive spectators, of their destructive progress?

PLUTARCH.

"*The Pilot that Weather'd the Storm*"

LETTER XXVII.

PIERRE.—Here we embrace, and I'll unlock my heart
A Council's held hard by, where the destruction
Of this great Empire's hatching there I'll lead thee
But be a man, for thou art to mix with men
Fit to disturb the peace of all the world,
And rule it when 'tis wildest

OTWAY

De Mortuis nil nisi bonum, is a benevolent motto, applied to the frailties of domestic life, but in treating of individuals, who presume to interfere in the government of mankind, the tomb must not obstruct investigation, truth must not claim sanctuary from the grave

The propensities of the great, lead the world, to good, or evil the personal motives of politicians, have a general influence, upon public feeling, and sentiment, and however conscientiously Mr Fox might have acted, how genuine soever his patriotism might have been, it required no great share of vanity in him, to be convinced, that he was the oracle of a certain class of men, who sought for the people a power they were sensible they would abuse, and who, themselves felt no responsibility, but life embittered by necessity, disap-

pointment, or envy—an existence which they were willing to venture in any political storm, that could flatter the most distant hopes of better fortune. Such men found very plausible apologies for the grossest dereliction, in the strenuous arguments of their champion; and though he cannot be considered implicated in the diabolical designs, of the desperate beings, who volunteered in the mission of regeneration, his ardour carried him so far beyond the limits of virtuous policy, that Parliamentary Privilege alone, could have protected him, from charges he would have lamented, to see connected with his name, in the page of history.

That his eloquence cherished the enthusiasm of the factious, volumes of proofs, are still extant; and it cannot be questioned, but his bold, and imprudent, assertions, in favour of that visionary freedom, and illiberal prejudice, which endangered every Crown in Europe, induced Mr. PITT to have recourse to those strong measures, which mark this period of his administration; nay, which preserved another martyr from our calendar—a crisis, however, to *British jacobinism*, was rapidly approaching. *The treasonable combinations*, which Mr. FOX, Mr. GREY, and Mr. SHERIDAN, leniently denominated *fabulous plots*, and *forged conspiracies*, no longer confined their illegal clamours, to the private places of rendezvous, but summoned assemblies in the open fields, and there amused the shouting rabble with harangues, that fled indeed upon the intruding winds, except at certain auspicious moments, when an insidious echo vibrated the charm of "*Liberty and Equality*." But though language was incomprehensible, the crowds which covered the hills, and enclosures, that formed the theatre of these assemblies, conveyed

intimations, that were not misconceived, and awakened a spirit, that it became imperiously the duty of the arm of power to suppress There is but little stability in *the affections of men colleсted for evil purposes—the* first panic, or the first bribe, produces an impeachment. These circumstances, connected with certain cautions, which had been timely adopted, warranted the arrest of many of the most active Members, of the leading Revolutionary Society, who were immediately committed to prison, until bills of indictment, could be preferred against them and temporizing measures, being very properly conceived, only calculated to procrastinate, not to counteract mischief, a Bill for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, was instantly brought into Parliament, passed without an hour's avoidable delay, and such further steps pursued, as gave full confidence to the loyal, and peaceable, part of the community

The extravagant lectures at those *forcing houses* of French politics, the Forums, and Debating Societies, the seditious harangues in Copenhagen Fields, the fraternal connexions, daily consummating, with the heroes of the Bastile, and Thuilleries, were, in the estimation of the Opposition, but jocular occurrences, and innocent singularities But when Mr Pitt, finding that civil commotion, was spreading far and wide, adopted that reasonable *rigour beyond the law*, which had been sanctioned by precedent, and the deliberative wisdom of our forefathers, the patriotic sensibility of Mr Fox, and his colleagues, became violently agitated What! exclaimed they, whilst the Seine runs crimson, in the cause of freedom, shall the Thames roll through a land of oppression! The suspension of the Habeas Corpus, brings the wrists of every Englishman, within the ma-

nacles of an arbitrary Minister, and deprives the venerable fabric of the Constitution, of its soundest bulwarks —remove *it*—and Magna Charta—the Bill of Rights, the great palladium of our liberty—may as well be given to the rising generation for kites and drums, as the last tokens from free-born Britons, to the newly constituted heirs of slavery.

But Mr. Fox essayed to soar his quarry with too venturesome a wing; and whilst his bold flight, caught the adulation, of the wondering crowd, Mr. Pitt had the gratification to observe, the distrust, and suspicion, which had insinuated themselves into the breasts of the most able friends of his antagonists—which terminated in a complete dismemberment of his party, and formed the coalition that saved the Kingdom—astonished Europe—and disappointed the hopes of France—of Anarchy, and Revolution. Upon this subject, the chagrin of Mr. Fox, and his few remaining adherents, are too poignant for description; the gratification of Mr. Pitt, too dignified, to be expressed in any language but his own.

As they, he observed of the new Administration, tendered their allegiance, as they tendered their safety, as they cherished the remembrance of their ancestors, who had defended the Constitution; as they regarded the interests of their posterity, they were bound to lay aside every distinction, to remove every obstacle, and to *unite the talents*, the characters, the integrity, and the honor of all honest men, who were able to serve their country; upon which union, depended most essentially, the present, and future, safety, not only of Great Britain, but of Europe. On these principles have they united; on these principles would

they act, and if their exertions should unfortunately fail to receive the desired success, they would at least have the consolation, of being conscious, that every effort had been made which human wisdom could suggest, and that nothing had been wanting on their parts, towards the attainment of an object, to which there was not one among them, who would not devote all his faculties, and, if necessary, his life

Such sentiments, were not the verbal vapourings, of a vain orator, but the genuine effusions of a patriotic mind, devoted to honor, and his country's welfare.

PLUTARCH.

"The Pilot that Weather'd the Storm."

LETTER XXVIII.

surrendered to the enemy, and cowardice, disaffection, and corruption, appeared rapidly disseminating amongst the Allies These circumstances, added to the decapitation of ROBESPIERRE, and the acquittal of HARDY, TOOKE, THELWALL, and their associates, again excited the clamour of the Opposition for peace, on the grounds, that the objects of Coalition, having degenerated into national aggrandizement, the war was no longer justifiable, that the decease of ROBESPIERRE, had destroyed the tyranny which had been so much dreaded, and the acquittal of the individuals, who had been arraigned at the Old Bailey, for High Treason, proved clearly the non-existence of sedition, or any conspiracies, inimical to the Government, or tranquillity of the Kingdom Extraordinary arguments! As well then might the surgeon, from the first inauspicious symptom, leave the gangrene to its course; Monarchs, acknowledge without scruple, every sanguinary upstart, as their compeer, and society re-admit into its bosom, every notorious felon, who escapes from justice, by those peculiar casualties, which the pure system of English jurisprudence, acknowledges a fair appeal to mercy

In amicable negociations, it is an indispensable preliminary, to ascertain two facts, whether the disposition for Peace, in the contracting parties be sincerely reciprocal—and whether it be equally their interests to maintain it

The Rulers of France were sensible, whilst they were surrounded by a desperate populace, whom they had emancipated from all lawful restrictions, that permanent elevation, was hopeless They knew, that every aspirant to their seats, who had courage to

mount a rostrum, in the Palais Royal, could create a faction—that every new competitor, was the favourite of the multitude, and therefore, every hour rendered their situations more precarious. The idol of yesterday, they saw to day, breathless on the Guillotine; and they reflected, that although they awed the Senate at noon, 'ere the Sun had set, the executioner might be called upon to "render *them* harmless." Peace, therefore, was indisputably the bane of all their projects, whilst an hostile frontier, *offered honourable* exile, for every dubious, or suspected, character, and the wreathed hero, exciting military emulation, obliterated, for a while, domestic calamities.

Moreover, it has been the invariable policy of all usurpations, to excite objects of attention, for the public mind, from home; that the chicanery of ambition, may operate, free from scrutiny, and the relaxation of authority be restored, whilst the people forget their promised boons, amidst the lustre of military exploits. Victory, has beguiled the affections of mankind, towards the most relentless oppressors, and amidst the shouts of conquest, they have suffered themselves to be bereft of every privilege; for it is the nature of man, to be despotic, and all nations, feel gratification, in being considered the dictators of the world; in accomplishing which, they forget they are the instruments of tyranny, and the fabricators of their own bands.

But the embryo Republicans, had other motives, for hostility; in their wild enthusiasm, they had destroyed the system of pecuniary assessment, and had no resources, but in the Exchequer of their neighbours; and no guerdon for their troops, but the sack of towns,

and the violation of virgins Wherever they carried their arms, they set up the phantom Equality—preached destruction to privilege, annihilation to all distinctions, and the prejudicial influence of riches, whilst they belied their pernicious doctrines, by the most rapacious monopoly, that ever plundered the world 'Tis true, they proffered peace, to their enemies, but upon what terms? You shall banish your chief citizens, you shall surrender your strong fortresses, be subject to conscription, and military contribution This, observed Mr PITT, is the reciprocity they offer, and the obvious motives for such insulting propositions, that their emissaries may penetrate beyond the next frontier—sow discontent amongst the inhabitants—corrupt the official servants of Government—and fabricate apologies, for new invasions, and more destructive wars and, as hungry tigers, only leave the flock at rest, until they have devoured the secure prey, so the nations, contiguous to their expanding empire, will enjoy peace no longer, than the resources of the last conquest, are found equivalent, to their necessities, and the people so consolidated with their conquerors, as to render ineffectual, all national resentment

He neither had, nor ever intended, to pledge himself, *never* to make peace, with a republican government in France, but maintained, that with such a government as now existed (if it were worthy the appellation) it was impossible to treat, on any terms, that could promise security He admitted that it *might* become *necessary*, to open a negotiation, with the Republic, but at the same time, gave it as his candid opinion, that no peace could be secure, unless France returned to a

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monarchical system. He was astonished that those, who had admitted the justice of the war, and the necessity of opposing the abominable tenets of the revolution, should be disposed to abandon the contest, after one year's ineffectual struggle. It never surely could have been supposed, that the subversion of the revolutionary system, or the destruction of the revolutionary power, could be accomplished in a single campaign. It had pleased Providence, whose ways are inscrutable, that the power of France, should triumph over all opposition; but should we, therefore, fall prostrate before it, without adequate resistance; should we yield pusillanimously, without first measuring its strength? The consciousness of inability to pursue it, would alone make him agree to retire from the contest. He would at least have nothing to reproach himself with the retrospect. He would not submit until he could exclaim—

——— Potuit quæ plurima virtus
Esse fuit, toto certamen est corpore regni.

PLUTARCH.

"The Pilot that Weather'd the Storm."

LETTER XXIX.

To nurse with tender care the thriving arts,
Watch every beam philosophy imparts,
To give religion her unbridled scope,
Nor judge by statute a believer's hope;
With close fidelity and love unfeign'd,
To keep the matrimonial band unstain'd,
Covetous only of a virtuous praise,
His life a lesson to the land he sways,
To touch the sword with conscientious awe,
Nor draw it but when duty bids him draw,
To sheath it in the peace restoring close
With joy beyond what victory bestows,
Blest country, where these kingly glories shine,
Blest England, if this happiness be thine

COWPER.

An affair, more than ordinarily embarrassing, at this period, aggravated the fatigues of Mr Pitt's official duties. The Heir Apparent, had again unfortunately involved himself in pecuniary obligations, far exceeding that munificent allowance, which Parliament had appropriated, to support an establishment, suitable, it was conceived, in every respect, to his future expectations, and present dignity. A solemn pledge had been given, that a second appeal to Legislative assistance upon this subject, should never be made. On this promise, Mr. Pitt had rendered himself [illegible]

between the PRINCE, and his country; and his repugnance to abrogate it, was very properly invincible, against every argument, that was advanced, to induce him to relax from his rigid principles of consistency, integrity, and truth.

On the other hand, his Royal Highness, was understood to be equally peremptory in his refusal to accede to a matrimonial alliance, which was considered nationally advantageous, unless some measures were previously adopted, to relieve him from the urgent appeals of his numerous creditors. Thus situated, an arduous task remained for the Minister; to prostitute his transcendent eloquence—to palliate a breach of honour, he could not condescend; and to lose any opportunity, of promoting the welfare of his country, would be equally departing from that system of patriotic enthusiasm, which had invariably marked his conduct. Neither would he lend his talents, to mitigate reproach, where due, no matter howsoever elevated in rank the individual might stand, or become the advocate of improvidence and profusion, however powerful the prodigal might be. His office was to guard the country's purse, from domestic peculation, as well as its shores from hostile pollution; and he studied to perform those duties with firmness, but with delicacy; with proper consideration for the parties implicated, but with justice to the nation.

The utmost stretch of the imagination, and every inventive faculty, were exerted to fabricate apologies, that might avert the censure, which this unseasonable repetition of indiscreet expenditure, appeared likely to bring upon the Illustrious Personage, whose accomplished manners, and highly cultivated understanding,

had ingratiated him in the admiration of the Court, and the esteem of the People.

That a PRINCE, peculiarly endowed in mind and person, to attach his own sex, and fascinate the fair, should experience that dangerous war of the passions, which the emulous glances of a drawing room, brilliant with all the grace, and beauty, of his native country, are calculated to excite, cannot be a matter of astonishment.—That the Arts should supplicate his patronage, Genius be cherished by his liberality, Taste submit to his dictates, and Fashion be guided by his discretion, have long been considered the Birth right, and Prerogatives, of the Heir Apparent —That at the age of maturity, he should be at liberty to enjoy the same privileges as his humbler fellow subjects—to think, to feel, to act for himself, adopt his own political prepossessions, and indulge nature's common predilections, no reasonable being could ever question —That he should turn from temptation with the indifference of an Anchorite—exist in the regions of Venus and practice platonic abstinence—move amidst hereditary splendour, and assume the eccentricities of a cynic, are ideas only becoming the brain of a fanatic But he should reflect, that beset by harpies no resources are inexhaustible—allured by beauty, man enters a magic circle, whose incantations beguile him of his noblest faculties, and that whilst adulated by sycophants, he lives in the regions of deception

He should bear in mind, that although *Nature* displays no partiality, is " no respecter of persons still, when her works are cultivated, and polished, by the various succedaneums of human art, to adapt them to superior destinies, *mankind* are warranted in de-

manding greater, elevation of mental power, a higher sense of moral obligation. If Princes are to yield to every fickle passion, adopt the new fangled suggestions of every officious minion, build palaces to indulge the whims of the morning, and destroy them for an evening frolic; if they voluntarily enter the web which any ambitious female weaves, to ensnare their affections—empty the caskets of every lapidary to decorate insidious harlots—consume the riches of the industrious, only to augment the banquets of sensual gratification—if, when they walk abroad, we must seclude our wives and daughters, and withdraw from society, influenced by their presence—if they listen only to obsequious knaves, and bestow their hospitalities, on none, but the vermin, who supinely vegetate in the sun-beams of Royalty; then, in vain are a nation's anxieties, for the honour of its throne; plundered are her treasuries; wasted the labours of her wise preceptors; obscured the glories of her regal line; blemished the chronicle of her noblest deeds; and useless the examples of those proud days, which memory retains, to instigate succeeding generations to the pursuit of whatever is great, heroic, and virtuous.

Mr. Pitt saw with infinite regret, the havock, which luxury and dissipation, were making on a noble mind; he saw with indignation, the herd of selfish flatterers, who were fattening on a nation's bounty, and corrupting its future Monarch; and, therefore, wisely resolved, to enforce such a system of economy in his Royal Highness's Household as should progressively liquidate his debts, and operate as a lenient lesson to evince the value, and necessity, of provident disburse-

ment, without occasioning needless mortification, or divesting his palace of consistent splendour.

To effect this, Commissioners were appointed to investigate the nature of the enormous claims, made upon the PRINCE's finances; and a certain proportion of the provision to be made upon his marriage, with the revenues arising from the Duchy of Cornwall, were set apart for the advantage of his creditors

That an outcry should be raised at the idea of placing the Heir of the Kingdom, on a parallel with a Bankrupt, is not a matter of astonishment, but it is gratifying to a nation to reflect that she possessed a Minister, who dared be just, and compel a Prince, to feel the impolicy of those indiscretions, for which his subjects suffer.

PLUTARCH.

"*The Pilot that Weather'd the Storm.*"

LETTER XXX.

When lawless mobs insult the Court,
That man shall be my toast,
If breaking windows be the sport,
Who bravely breaks the most.

But oh! for him my fancy culls
The choicest flow'rs she bears,
Who Constitutionally pulls
Your house about your ears.

COWPER.

THE appointment of Earl FITZWILLIAM, to the Vice-Royalty, of the Sister Island, revived the hopes of the Opposition, who still clamoured for Place, and Power.

To be ignorant of the policy, which had ever influenced Mr. PITT, was totally impossible; it is, therefore, inconceivable, that an individual, so elevated in rank, so deservedly high in political estimation, so respected as an accomplished Statesman, should colleague with an Administration, whose system had ever been decidedly hostile, to the levelling doctrines of the day, but the instant he is seated in his official chair, act diametrically inconsistent with their arrangements, associate with persons known to be rancorously inimical, to their Government, call to his familiar councils

men, whose sentiments had been promulgated, with as much effrontery, as they were pregnant with republicanism—disaffection—and mischief to the common weal—whilst insult was offered to the Sovereign, by the instantaneous, and indiscriminate dismissal, of the old and faithful servants of the Crown, and by the precipitate agitation of a measure in which the Royal conscience was seriously implicated, and upon every recurrence of the subject, was known to be peculiarly susceptible of affliction —Fortunately these early instances of political depravity, unveiled that disposition to reform, leading directly into the vortex of revolution, which Mr PITT had so long struggled to suppress, and which he now strangled, 'ere the untimely conception could mature itself into the anarchical monster, which has impregnated with misery, adjacent Empires

The torrent of abuse which succeeded the sudden eclipse of the newly risen star of factious adoration, would have been permitted to pass unheeded by Mr PITT, had it not been rendered a vehicle of the most indecent anti monarchical invective, and of a direct attempt to deprive Majesty of its most estimable prerogative—by dictating rules and regulations, for filling the Executive offices of Government, and insisting upon specific reasons being assigned, in every instance, where the Royal confidence was withdrawn The object of these encroachments was evidently to render the Crown, in point of *fact*, that useless bauble which they had frequently *represented* to the multitude, their labour, and their earnings, were appropriated to decorate, as an extravagant symbol of despotism to make slavery fascinating, as an apology to pamper an osten-

tatious crowd of luxurious courtiers, and a cavalcade of sinecure retainers.

Such perversions, becoming only the demagogues of Paris, Mr. Pitt refuted, with his usual felicity of argument, and instructed his adversaries, that the more he was assaulted, the more determined he grew; the greater the danger, the more conspicuous his intrepidity; and the more his Sovereign was defamed, the more zealous became his attachment.

From such triumphs at home, Mr. Pitt viewed with satisfaction, the British Flag, victorious on every sea, where her enemies dared to meet it; but with less cause of congratulation, he turned his eyes towards the Continent, and beheld Holland already prostrate at the feet of a Conqueror; Prussia and Spain basely withdrawn from the noble cause they had vowed to support; the last spark of loyal enthusiasm, extinguished with the blood of Sombreuil, in the fields of La Vendée, and Austria, in consequence, hard pressed by the concentrated energies of her vindictive enemy.

Still despair never obtained admittance to his breast! —The Patriot sighed to find a cause so glorious, abandoned with so much indifference, and anticipated with prophetic sorrow, the lamentable effects, which the recent derelictions, delineated in the prospects of futurity; but although he perceived a possibility of the accumulated thunder of the conquered, and the conquerors, being one day charged against his country, when deserted by every friend and ally, he deemed that evil the least which presented its enemies in the ranks of *avowed* war, rather than amidst the insidious subterfuges of insincere amity; and therefore continued to animate the nation in the godlike struggle, and to

teach the yielding world a lesson of that magnanimity, which freemen only could appreciate, and which, at this period, Britons only practised.

The release of the Princess ELIZABETH, the only surviving branch of the unfortunate CAPETS, in the power of their infuriated assassins, had indeed induced him at this juncture of affairs, to augur auspiciously for humanity, but the alternate predominance of the various factions, and the rapid transitions from one jacobinical system to another, cherished that dreadful spirit of retribution, which neither the innocent or inoffensive, the infant or the superannuated, could assuage—and this insatiate thirst for blood, appeared to derive a renovated impluse from a being, who, though now clad in ermine—encircled with the diadems of conquered Princes—and inflated by the vassalage of degenerated nations, must in every future age be considered the perfect prototype of that tremendous vengeance, by which the wrath of Heaven is occasionally visited on mankind.

The political inauguration, of this extraordinary man, opened a new æra in the life of Mr PITT, and the history of the world—an æra, alas! characterized by an aggravation of the sacrilege, and slaughter, his predecessors had begun, and by subverting, with remorseless cruelty, every institute that could mitigate the miseries which human interests unfortunately create.

PLUTARCH.

"The Pilot that Weather'd the Storm."

LETTER XXXI.

——— What would you have, you curs,
That like nor peace, nor war?—the one affrights you,
The other makes you proud. He that trusts to you,
When he should find you lions, finds you hares;
Where foxes, geese: You are no surer, no,
Than is the coal of fire upon the ice,
Or hailstone in the Sun. Your virtue is,
To make him worthy, whose offence subdues him,
And curse that justice did it. Who deserves greatness,
Deserves your hate; and your affections are
A sick man's appetite, who desires most that
Which would increase his evil. He that depends
Upon your favors, swims with fins of lead,
And hews down oaks with rushes. Hang ye! Trust ye!
With every minute you do change a mind;
And call him noble that was now your hate,
Him vile, that was your garland.

SHAKSPEARE.

If the public character of this great man, had an imperfection, it was the proud contempt he entertained for the "people," and a reprehensible indifference, for the virulent emanations, which daily issued from the press, or the mouths of violent political declaimers, who constituted it their trade, and the source of their existence, to traduce every administration, and libel the principles, of every man in office.

The first, he viewed, as those wretched outcasts from their fellow-creatures, who, in every State, corrupt the peaceably disposed, and spoil on the property of honest citizens; who, without intellect, without franchise, without any rule of moral conduct, assemble with similar alacrity, and, in anticipation of the same reward, to pilfer at a conflagration, shout, and bully, at an election, demolish a prison, fire a palace, and greet with io-pæans, any factious miscreant, who will lead them to insult the Magistracy, and overthrow the barriers of society; but whose exertions he considered impotent, whilst a single military battalion, or an efficient police, could be found to make a proper application of their authority.

As to the press, conscious of individual integrity, and disinterested patriotism, he defied its licentiousness, and slander; and deemed it an utter impossibility, that the sensible part of a nation, could be duped by the mercenary pamphleteers, and theorists, who intrude their literary imposition, upon the community, with no other motive, than to inculcate disaffection, destroy social happiness, and indulge that wretched ambition, which seeks to gratify its envious propensities, amidst the havoc of rebellion.

This contumely, however just in point of reasoning, was by no means either prudent, or politic, at a crisis of mental intoxication; and was certainly, the means of imparting fresh confidence, to the jacobinical hydra, which reared once more its multiplied head, charged with augmented pestilence, not only in the Metropolis, but wherever its emissaries could collect a few victims of disappointment, and indolence, to listen to their alluring falsehoods.

War! bellowed forth the votaries of *regeneration*, is only a pretext to enrich the titled tyrants of the land, to monopolize the patronage of the kingdom, and, under a nominal Monarchy, introduce an aristocratic despotism, whose existence, depends upon directing the strength of the nation, to projects of foreign aggrandizement, and reducing the "people" to poverty, ignorance, and African subjection.

To destroy this imaginary monster, they unequivocally alluded to the annihilation of that dignity, which sanctioned the system they were reprobating; and so imposed upon the popular credulity, as to excite the multitude to that sanguinary attempt, which, at the opening of Parliament in October, 1795, filled the city with consternation, and every loyal subject with indignant horror.

It was now, that Mr. PITT became convinced, his sentiments were too elevated for the generality of men; and that to preserve the constancy of human prepossessions, some animating object of attraction was indispensable—for, the nature of mortality inclining to active wrong, rather than to supine and monotous virtue, *flattery* is only necessary to call into being the seeds of ambition, which, though sometimes dormant, are, in a greater or less degree, inherent in the breast of each of us, and require only the aid of our own vanity, to give them quick maturity. He scarcely, therefore, permitted his eyes to close, until he had placed a bulwark round the throne, which should protect its loved, and venerable, incumbent, from a repetition of the indignities, his sacred character had recently experienced—indignities which proved how perfectly the actors in that diabolical plot, had become *affiliated* with

the communities of Versailles, and the Thuilleries, and how well they merited the fraternal embraces, promised for their august labours, in the glorious cause of insurrection. Doubtless an apotheosis, and the *divine* honours of the Pantheon, awaited the hero, who should have given to the Drama of Assassination, another scene for Regicides, wherewith to glut the thirsty passion of democratic vengeance.

In urging the Bills through the House, which were to accomplish the future protection of the Sovereign, the patience, and feelings, of his faithful servant, were exposed to a trial yet more severe, than any which had occurred during his eventful administration.—That the proposed statutes should be contemned, the motives which suggested them perverted, their objects questioned, and their authors loaded with invective, were circumstances perfectly in course, and decidedly anticipated. But, that such men as Messrs. Fox, Sheridan, and Grey, should reproach Mr. Pitt, as the foul designer of the assault upon the Royal Person, for the purpose of promoting a series of unconstitutional laws, and fabricating chains for his countrymen, are sentiments so palpably the offspring of faction, and personal antipathy, as must leave a blemish in the annals of British Statesmen, which the world would have been slow to credit, except derived from such authority; and surely the individuals themselves, if any latent emotions of justice, remained within their bosoms, must frequently have cursed the prostituted lips, that dared to stigmatise a rival so noble, by implications so unbecoming their characters as senators, their reputations as men, and their natures as Englishmen.

But, still undaunted, as the thunders of this malevolent eloquence died amidst expressions of disapprobation, which spontaneously burst forth on every side, Mr. Pitt arose, and in the calm, majestic, language of innocence, drew an animated picture of his own purity, whilst from the harsh insinuations, gloomy presages, and inveterate hatred of his defamers, he exposed the convulsive writhings of their distempered souls; and retired, after the consummation of his loyal exertions, more revered, and more triumphant.

"The Pilot that Weather'd the Storm."

LETTER XXXII.

To feign a red hot zeal for freedom's cause,
To mouth aloud for liberty and laws,
For public good to bellow all abroad,
Serves well the purposes of private fraud
What e er we talk of wisdom to the wise,
Of goodness to the good—of public ties,
Which to our country link, of private bands,
Which claim most dear attention at our hands,
For parent and for child, for wife and friend,
Our first great mover, and our last great end,
Is one, and by whatever name we call
The ruling tyrant, self is all in all
This, tho unwilling, faction must admit

CHURCHILL.

THE numerous specimens of incongruity, whose ephemeral existence, had invariably terminated in blood, and long retained unhappy France in Chaotic commotion, having at length subsided into some resemblance of political consistency, and excited hopes of a disposition more amiable, and humane, than had hitherto been conspicuous in her general policy, MR. PITT no longer made a mystery of his inclination to pacific overtures, candidly acknowledged such to be his wishes, in the Speech from the Throne, and instructed the British Minister in Switzerland, to ascertain the sentiments of the French Government, upon a subject of such universal interest.

This channel, however, which he had selected from the most prudent motives, was deemed by the Opposition, an artful circumlocution, a mere political intrigue, forgotten in all probability 'ere the wax was cold, which enclosed the insincere credentials. They, therefore, with that officious zeal, which is unmindful of consequences, and indifferent to the public welfare, urged a motion in the House of Commons, which had for its object, a condescension no better, than rendering the SOVEREIGN a suppliant at the footstool of the French Directory. The success of such a proposition, could not for an instant be dubious. Of this, its authors were perfectly sensible—success, they were aware, was as hopeless, as it was foreign, to their purpose; but the agitation of the question, served to convey to the enemy, through the mouths of the *friends, and advocates, of the People*, an impression, that the multitude were clamourous for peace, and that an acquiescence in the most rigid, and dishonourable, terms, might be anticipated, if the Republican Plenipotentiaries, exerted due skill in the negociation. The rhetoric which was exhibited upon this occasion, carried its influence where, no doubt, it was intended to operate; for it was soon made evident, that no peace would be confirmed by France, which did not enrich herself, and impoverish her enemies—that did not, augment her own territory, and abridge her neighbours—which did not cherish the yet unsatisfied spirit of *illuminism*, and promote its implacable enmity, to every people, who would not bow the knee, to the regenerating powers, of the dagger, and the guillotine.

Notwithstanding, however, this glaring injustice of the French Rulers—notwithstanding the incompatability of their avowed principles, with the permanent

tranquillity of Europe, and the destruction of National Independence, which must inevitably result from an admission of their newly assumed rights, to fabricate charters, for other people, and renovate ancient constitutions, by the standard of their own untried, and vacillating, system; the Parliamentary labours of the British *Patriots*, appeared solely dedicated, to exalt the reputation of the common disturbers of the world, and to draw a degrading parallel, between the Legislators of their native country, and the beings who had abandoned every principle which was amiable in men—either as Christians or moralists—protectors, or promulgators, of the ordinances which govern society, and preserve, under wholesome restraint, the natural exuberance of vice.

If such conduct be inseparable from party, then are all such associations the curse of kingdoms—if it be Whiggism, then is IT the bane of loyalty, and social order; but the genuine essence of the latter designation, is now lost or perverted, and we only recognize, by such an epithet, the indiscriminate opposers of the Executive Government. It is no longer the Constitutional Privileges of the People, which it asserts, and laudably endeavours to maintain, pure and undiminished; but more powerful competitors, it is sedulous of supplanting in the confidence of the Monarch; and the lucrative offices of the State, it pines to see engrossed by its own disciples. What is it then, but the *Political Wilderness*, leading to that *Land of Promise*—that goal of a Statesman's ambition—*the sunshine of Majesty*—a climate, alas! which instantaneously impregnates the mind, with new conceptions, throws every object under a different light, carries conviction to the Ministerial novice, of the solecisms in popular princi-

ples, and displays, in the genial rays of royal munificence, less corruption than a more distant prospect represents—whilst the *inflexibility* of *Toryism*, is contemplated, as the indispensable prerogative of the Crown, and the *philanthropy* of *Whiggism*, as incorrigible innovation.

The country, however, were not to be duped by the rhapsodies of a cabal.—Their existence as an independent nation, had been preserved through all the storms of revolution, by the talents of Mr. PITT, and on the faith of his judgment, they were still perfectly disposed to rest their destiny. The events of the campaign, had also been consolatory to his feelings; for although the fields of Lodi, and Arcole, had initiated the minion of BARRAS, in the sanguinary career, which he has since, unhappily for Europe, so victoriously pursued; yet, the integrity of Germany, had in a great measure, been regained by a hero, who, but for the respect he paid to those laws, which ameliorate the harsh features of human hostilities, would have proved a soldier, as invincible, as massacre, and poison, breach of faith, and espionage, ever contributed to accomplish.

For wise purposes, however, victory sometimes sits upon the banners of oppression, and the most inhuman of rational creatures occasionally acquire supreme ascendancy—but the period of retribution is with equal certainty ordained—and when the instrument of divine wrath, has duly chastised man's criminality, it is broken, and hurled, unpitied, from the emancipated world.

PLUTARCH.

"*The Pilot that Weather'd the Storm.*"

LETTER XXXIII.

If I am traduc'd by tongues, which neither know
My faculties, nor person, yet will be
The chronicles of my doing,—let me say,
'Tis but the fate of place, and the rough brake
That virtue must go through
——————— If we shall stand still,
In fear our motion will be mock'd or carp'd at,
We should take root here where we sit, or sit
State statues only

SHAKSPEARE.

THE British Constitution, the most limited form of Monarchy perhaps on earth, has been considered by many enlightened writers, inimical to great military exertions, and the rapid revolutions of war, in consequence of the Legislature possessing such astonishing power over the finances, that a liberal application of them in a moment favourable to enterprize, is attended with greater responsibility, than every individual has intrepidity enough to contend with The man, however, who hesitates to hazard personal safety, when a great political advantage is to be accomplished, and can see without some magnanimous emotion, the glory of his country fading—an ally overthrown, or its enemies exulting, while he, with cowardly supineness,

refuses to advance, beyond the technical letter of the Constitution, may merit the cold appellation of an honest conscientious man, but is lamentably caricatured in the habiliments of a Statesman.

Mr. Pitt well knew, and sincerely respected, the restrictive laws, which were to govern his conduct, but he was not ignorant that the spirit of those statutes, gave a discretionary power, where an obvious emergency existed; although sanctioning no hopes of impunity, in the event of failure, and holding the abrogator of them, criminally answerable to his country, for the calamities, which his erroneous judgment, or rash impetuosity, might occasion.

Mr. Pitt's ambition, it is true, was great, but unsullied by any interested imperfections; he sought not for gorgeous honours, or largesses, to satiate luxurious appetites, but the grateful distinction of his Sovereign's partiality, and the unbought greetings of his countrymen;—for these objects he existed—for these objects he was ever willing to sacrifice existence.—The *Amor Patria* was his guiding star, and the sentiments of the Poet, are clearly perceptible, in every action of his ministerial life:

" On this foundation will I build my fame,
And emulate the Greek and Roman name;
Think England's peace bought cheaply with my blood,
And die with transport, for my country's good.

To a bold infraction of his specific duty, was to be attributed the rescue of the German Empire in the campaign of 1796, as well as the auspicious prospects, by which the political horizon was irradiated, at the conclusion of that memorable struggle; and the Address at the opening of the new *Parliament*, having

been carried without any allusion to this instance of laudable temerity, it was conceived the Opposition intended to imply a tacit acquiescence, in a measure, to which such important results had been attached.

Whether, however, they repented of this solitary act of forbearance; or, in the fury of that periodical malevolence, which recurs at the commencement of every Sessions, they had overlooked so essential a point for animadversion, and controversy, remains amongst the unknown records of their extraordinary proceedings, for the Premier was permitted a very short time for exultation, 'ere he found himself assaulted with the epithet of traitor, and the threats of impeachment.

To give true stage effect to their reviving drama, the envious conspirators accounted for their recent silence, by the astonishment in which their faculties were involved by the daring inroad the Minister had committed upon the great charter of the land—the heinous contempt he had shown towards the Representatives of the People—the graceless profusion with which he had lavished their wealth, to en-[illegible] Europe with the blood of a Nation toiling in the cause of Freedom, and by the despotic [illegible] he was thus attempting to attach to the [illegible]. If, observed one individual, the Nation s[illegible] in this infringement of its privileges, then [illegible] be under the absolute dominion of the [illegible]. If, remarked a second, the people can tamely witness the palladium of their Constitution, [illegible] and dilapidated, then do [illegible] to its ruins, and bend [illegible] before the tyranny, which shall mock their sufferings. If, rejoined a

third, they can *mildly* contemplate this *climax of oppression*, then do they indeed deserve the fate of bondmen, and to feel the iron sceptre which their fathers broke; but, continued the same rhapsodist, the spirit of Englishmen cannot be *already* so depressed, and I think I now behold them seize the avenging sword, and swear upon the altars of Omnipotence, rather to leave their bones to bleach upon their native cliffs, those bulwarks placed by Providence, as the safeguard of the Land destined for the eternal asylum of Freedom, than crouch before the usurper of their inheritance. To resist such encroachments, in despite of all consequences, is a duty, posterity is entitled to demand of them; the *aggressor* has legalized a forcible assertion of their birthright, and let the bolt fall where the mischief has been engendered.

This effort, combining the denunciation of the Premier, and an absolute excitement to revolt, being deliberate, was urged with the matured arguments of every member of the *Patriotic Phalanx*; yet seldom had their attempts been more completely abortive, but, on the reverse, appeared to have answered no other purpose, than to have opened a channel for their great antagonist to ingratiate himself, more and more, in the good opinion of his fellow-subjects—to display, in a more sublime point of view, his devotedness to their welfare and renown—to evince his profound knowledge, constitutional, parliamentary, and historical—his expansive and irresistible eloquence.

He convinced them, that the mouldy archives of ancestry, in days when every principle of legislation had been perverted, were but inefficient theories, leading directly to the vortex of destruction—con-

ductors which the enemy knew where to follow, how to meet, and how to render subservient to their own designs. Unusual circumstances, continued Mr Pitt, *demand*, as well as justify, extraordinary measures We must sometimes lacerate, to save trespass at the present moment, to establish security, for the future, and after an oration, which spread rapture through every admiring auditor, he completed the confusion of his enemies, by this keen rebuke —

While I claim a fair construction of the principles, and intentions, which have actuated my conduct, if it shall appear, that in the smallest instance, I have deviated from any constitutional principle, I must submit to the consequence, whatever be the censure or the punishment. But while I bow with the most perfect submission, to the determination of the House, I cannot but remark on the extraordinary language, which has been used on the question—Ministers have been accused of a wanton, and malignant desire, to violate the Constitution —It has been stated, that no other motive could possibly have influenced their conduct If a charge of such malignant intention, had been brought against men, who had gloried in the victories, of the foes of civil liberty, the hostile disturbers of the peace of Europe, men who blasphemously denied the existence of a Deity, and who have rejected, and trampled on every law, moral or divine, those who were anxious to expose, and to aggravate, every defect of the Constitution, to reprobate every measure adopted for its preservation, I say, if such a charge of deliberate, and deep-rooted malignity, were brought against persons of this description, I should conceive that even then the rules of

candid, and charitable interpretation, would induce us to hesitate, in admitting its justice, much more when it is brought against individuals, whose conduct, I trust, has exhibited the reverse of the picture which I have now drawn. I appeal to the justice of the House, I rely on their candour; but, to Gentlemen, who can suppose Ministers, capable, of those motives, which have been imputed to them on this occasion, it must be evident that I can desire to make no such appeal.

PLUTARCH.

"*The Pilot that Weather'd the Storm*"

LETTER XXXIV

——————————, things now,
That bear a weighty and a serious brow,
Sad, high, and working, full of state and woe,
Such noble scenes as draw the eye to flow,
We now present

SHAKSPEARE

How erroneous are the anticipations of man, how deceitful the promises of futurity, and how absolutely precarious every event, save such as the Immortal ordains! The past year had closed with better hopes, than had for a long period cheered the nation. Victory had at least dispensed her favors with impartiality, and the pretensions of the respective Powers, engaged in hostility, were so poised, that a system of mutual concession, upon the principle of just equivalent, was only necessary to recall peace, and restore Europe, to her anti revolutionary situation. But to invoke the spirit of national discord, appeared an inseparable concomitant of the Gallic phrenzy—it was not enough to have deluged her own provinces, by homicide, and military coercion: the seats of the once potent Cæsars, though now but the tottering throne of an enfeebled Pontiff, had become an object of her covetousness: nor did her ambition seem to acknowledge any limits, until, in

the hypodrome of CONSTANTINE, she had repeated the impieties of the Champ de Mars—until, from the Alps, and the Caucasus, she had beheld the effects of her oppression; and from the Tiber, the Danube, the Volga, and the Nile, received the tribute of unnumbered vassals.

With a competitor, then, who had imbibed the martial lust of ALEXANDER, combined with the exterminating sword of ATTILLA, and the mercenary passions of a SATRAP, it was idle to deliberate; and what pledge, could be expected permanently, to bind a people, who considered moral profligacy, the best boon of nature, and acknowledged no retribution beyond the grave? With such a foe, negociation, could be fruitful only of chicanery, arrogance, and suspense: conciliation, remain for ever hopeless. Mr. PITT, therefore, after every expedient which could awaken the Rulers of France, to a due sense of temperance, and justice, had at length terminated, as was consistent with the honor of his country, a discussion which had never displayed one pleasing feature.

Notwithstanding, however, the disposition of the enemy, towards an amicable arrangement was so palpably insincere, the failure of the negociation, occasioned a heavy despondency in the public mind; and a presentiment of the untoward events which unhappily characterized this year, seemed to operate universally.

A procrastinated war, was now, to all appearances, inevitable, and a presage of the heavy burdens, necessarily attendant upon it, depressed the public confidence to such a degree, that the demands upon the Bank for specie, threatened the most alarming conse-

quences Fortunately, however, the helm of Government, was in the hands of a Pilot, who was calm amidst the whirlwind—undaunted in the storm—and who imparted energy to all around him The hesitation of a moment, would have brought on calamities irrecoverable for ages; and o'er the venerable fabric of our Liberties and Glory, malice was already prepared to inscribe—"*Delenda est Carthago*" But danger causes no perturbation in the mind of self possession: the genius of WILLIAM PITT was yet unsubdued, his fortitude yet unshaken, and by its wonted promptitude, an omen so auspicious to the cause of revolution, recoiled upon its votaries, charged with redoubled mortification, and disappointment, as being averted by the object of their deadliest antipathy.

Far be it from me, to indulge in indiscriminate accusations, or to implicate every opponent of the Executive Government, with the seditious, but if the people be everlastingly told from the Senate, that they are governed by cruelty and oppression, that every motive of Administration, is founded upon pretext and subterfuge, that every man in power, is the unfeeling enemy of the lower orders of society—pampering on a pension—or providing sinecures for his family, that the unavoidable expedients of finance, originate in avarice, and the wholesome institutes of Government, are but yokes of bondage, disowned by nature, and ignominious to mankind, our surprise should cease at the prevalence of discontent, and our anathemas be directed against the authors, of such wilful perversion, rather than the deluded victims, of their pernicious doctrines.

The mind disdains to admit a thought so injurious, to the honor and humanity, of any Member of a British

Parliament, as to accuse him of a serious desire to excite civil commotion; but unquestionably, the virulent declamations, which, from the first dawn of the French Revolution, had apologized for all the crimes and excesses, of that melancholy catastrophe, cherished a spirit of criminal emulation, which, under a less vigorous Government, might have led to a consummation equally awful. Many advocates of the Parisian populace, were, no doubt, good men, and actuated by the purest principles; but when the multitude once become the arbiters, of their own cause, they no longer listen, but dictate; no longer judge, but execute: *they pause not to discriminate.* Virtue possesses no charm against their despoiling hands—benevolence excites no commiseration in their hardened breasts, but conflagration to the palace and the mansion, daggers to the rich and the powerful, are impulses they cannot controul.

These reflections, lead me to that hour, when the Sun of British Glory, appeared to have shed its last beams, and was about to be obscured from a quarter whence it erst had borrowed its most resplendent lustre; but the recital is abhorrent to my nature, and whatever may be the duty of the historian, mine shall not be the voluntary task, to record a blemish in the naval escutcheon of my country, which the waters of the Nile, and of Trafalgar, ought to obliterate for ever; neither retaining the remembrance of it, as a theme for obloquy against its miserable fomenters, or for extolling the wisdom, and the intrepidity, which crushed it, armed, as it was, in its most appalling attitude.

To these domestic misfortunes, were to be added, the treachery and cowardice, which rendered the efforts of

Austria but unavailing sacrifices, and compelled her, at length, to sign at once her own degradation, to sanction the indefensible spoliations of unoffending States, to participate in the iniquitous machinations of the French Directory, and to accept compensation from the plunder of the innocent.

Thus forsaken by every auxiliary, Mr PITT again felt it his duty, to endeavour to assuage the malevolence of the enemy, by renewing overtures for peace, and as we had now no ally for whose interest to barter our conquests, as we had gained much, and not lost a single inch of territory, and the Minister being moreover, liberally disposed, to wave the Colonial aggrandizement we had acquired, for such objects of commercial security, as the extension of the enemy's Continental influence rendered indispensable, sanguine hopes were entertained of a more favourable issue to the conferences which ensued, but the same inordinate pride, and presumption, still predominated in the French Councils—the same insults were repeated to the British Plenipotentiary—and the visions of tranquillity again passed away But upon this occasion they were succeeded rather by a burst of indignation, than the murmurs of despondency, for the victories off St. Vincent, and Camperdown, had proved the unimpaired attachment, and the invincibility, of our seamen, and that the integrity of our happy island, was still sacred and irreproachable.

PLUTARCH

the Constitution, that so soon as it is found impracticable, to dislodge an administration from the heights of office, the duties of a representative, should be presumed accomplished, and an unimpeded career left to the Ministry—it is surely laying the foundation of the very despotism it is professed to contend against, and retreating before an enemy, whose means of assault we have augmented.

Mr. PITT, however, never required to be goaded on to an explicit communication of circumstances, that had influenced great public measures. Such a development, he considered politically judicious, and a respect which the country was entitled to demand. He therefore voluntarily entered upon a full explanation of the rise, and progress, of the occurrences, which had caused so much regret—evincing the indefatigable zeal—the liberal sentiments—and the candid demeanour which had been assumed for the attainment of the objects, that were to put an end to the prejudices of Party, and the animosities of nations—all which he satisfactorily proved had been unavailing, and that the condescensions which had been made, appeared but to incense our enemies the more. If, therefore, said he, we value property—if we value liberty—if we value law—if we value national power—if we value any thing that either has contributed, or can contribute to our happiness, or even to our safety, we should resist with indignation the demands of our enemy; it affects us all, from the highest to the lowest. There is not a man, let his enjoyments be ever so great, or his poverty ever so desperate, who ought not to sacrifice any portion of his possessions, to oppose the violence of the enemy.

We owe it as a debt to posterity, as well as to selves, to preserve our character in the page of hist We owe it in gratitude to Providence, whose go ness has placed us so high in the scale of nations, a caused us to be the admiration of Europe; with mo of the Governments of which, our own forms a happ contrast!!

Mr. Pitt, though sensible, and proud, of the prowess of his countrymen, whenever opportunities worthy of its exertion occurred, never permitted the national vanity to outstrip the bounds of discretion. Contempt of enemies had subdued many mighty Empires, and the insidious character of regenerated Frenchmen required infinite precaution.—Their maritime frontier, from recent acquisitions, embraced a line of coast, with little intermission, from the Texel to the Adriatic, and together with a chain of Naval Arsenals, their swollen Empire possessed localities for their fleets, peculiarly calculated to annoy Great Britain, whose preponderance hitherto upon the ocean, could scarcely warrant *confident* hopes of success, against so powerful a combination.

More certain, and expeditious, means of manning the Navy, were therefore adopted;—the Militia, and Volunteer Corps, augmented—the discipline of the regular army, carried to the best state of perfection, and a rigid system relative to aliens, and domestic traitors, established. The nation thus assumed an aspect truly martial, and, though favoured by the elements or by fortune, hostile legions might pollute our shores, the result of their temerity was never for a moment conceived precarious.

These extraordinary efforts gave rise to several of those important measures of finance, for which Mr. PITT was so celebrated The most *unexceptionable*, was the redemption of the land-tax, which was universally admitted pregnant with pecuniary advantage to the State, equitable to the landed proprietor, and highly beneficial to the stock-holder. The most *exceptionable*, and one indeed which created a violent sensation even amongst the most ardent admirers, and strenuous supporters of the Administration, was the Income Tax it was a species of inquisition unknown to the British Constitution—a transgression against the chartered rights of the subject, and, therefore, an example truly alarming But in how many instances "hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world," and how incompatible is the idea of immutability in reference to sublunary institutions Superstition, prejudice, and obstinate adherence to theories adapted to obsolete dangers, have done more than "the spear, the sword, and the battle." The vices, and refinements of society, nay, its very fopperies and toys, have frequently serious influence upon its political affairs Moreover, a Constitution adapted to our own propensities, may be fatal to our independence, when *literally* opposed to that moral depravity, which, in a period of warfare, is sanctioned as the admissible science of Statesmen, and the privilege of diplomacy.

Mr FOX's predilection for the *ad captandum vulgus* would not suffer so plausible an opportunity for resuming his public functions, to pass ungratified The Income Tax, therefore, was the signal, by which the re-invigorated champion rallied his disconsolate *recluses*,

and every strain of rhetoric was exhausted, in reprobating the odious assessment. Ah! could the worshippers of this popular oracle, at that moment, have penetrated but a few short steps into the dark bosom of futurity, and there have heard from his abandoned tripod the awful recantation of their idol, their spellbound faculties would instantly have awakened to an instructive precept for all political enthusiasts.

PLUTARCH.

" *The Pilot that Weather'd the Storm* "

LETTER XXXVI.

Tell, Oh! tell me, whence arise
These disorders in our skies?
Rome's great genius mildly gaz'd,
And the Gods were all amaz'd

Know, in sight of this day's Sun,
Such a deed is to be done,
Black enough to shroud the light
Of all this world in dismal night

What is this deed?
To kill a man,
The greatest since the world began,
Learned, eloquent, and wise,
Generous, merciful, and brave?

BUCKINGHAM

THE discussions, which took place, upon the Bill for Manning the Navy, gave rise to an incident in the life of Mr PITT, which has been alluded to by his *panegyrists*, as shedding fresh lustre, on his character, reprobated by his *friends*, as inconsistent, with the dignity of his situation, and regretted by his enemies, as unfortunate, in not accomplishing a catastrophe, to which it formed, consistent with their ideas, a most flattering prelude It frequently happens, however, that the most reprehensible action, in the life of an individual, calls forth those brilliant traits of constitutional energy, that cha-

valrous contemplation of death, that dignity of heart, and grandeur of soul, which mark an unshaken confidence, in the principles, that have influenced worldly transactions, and display in man, the strongest essence of the Godhead.

In the animation of debate, Mr. PITT had replied to the arguments of Mr. TIERNEY, with an inadvertency to Parliamentary decorum, which the SPEAKER unhappily did not correct in the decisive manner, that must have averted the subsequent consequences. Mr. PITT, had imputed to Mr. TIERNEY, "a desire to obstruct the defence of the country;" and upon explanation being demanded, it must be allowed, he evinced the most *cutting* contempt, for the personage reflected upon; and a degree of indifference to the customs of the Senate, which would certainly have merited *severe* censure, did we not recollect, how frequently, that Assembly had suffered their brightest ornament, to be addressed in language, which must have exhausted patience in her own temple, and awakened indignation, even in the breast of ZENO.

Was there greater acumen, in the expressions of Mr. PITT, than can be found in *every* oration, which issued from the mouths of his antagonists? How often had *he* been denominated the *Destroyer*, the *Oppressor*, the *Enemy* of his Country; one, who delighted in the conflicts of contending nations; in an incorrigible spoliation of constitutional privileges; who was a prodigal of his Country's resources, and an annihilator of its liberties!!

But whilst he, with characteristic magnanimity, permitted such epithets to pass as idle angry *verbiage*, he was *insultingly* required to answer, at the peril of his

life, the first unguarded expression which fell from his lips, amidst a tempest of defamation, that had been showered upon him I say *insultingly*, for is it to be endured, that the first Minister of this, or any other country, from an inadvertency which, in all probability, he has been designedly irritated to commit, is to be summoned to a personal renconter? and that an individual, with all the cares, and heavy responsibilities of the State upon him, is to be placed upon a footing, with the drunkard and the libertine, and hurried to his grave, with no greater ceremony, than attends the intemperate coxcombs of the tavern, and the brothel? But even this alternative, he adopted, and without a moment's scruple, rather than retract sentiments, which expressed a truth, he conceived proper should go forth to the nation, and to the world, unenfeebled by apology.

Mr. PITT, however, has been reproached for descending from "his high estate" to sanction the vulgar prejudice, of duelling, but, he was conscious that the "virtues of the bones and nerves" make a greater impression on the vulgar mind, than the sublime range of intellectual talents. He was conscious, that a buffoon, was more in unison with vulgar conceptions of superiority, than the solemnity of a philosopher; that a ballad-singer, would collect a greater audience than the lyre of HOMER; and that the rant of GALE JONES, would command louder plaudits than the rhetoric of DEMOSTHENES Therefore, although vulgar adulation, was nauseous to him, he perceived, upon this occasion, the expediency of humouring it, accomplishing his purpose by the noble deportment he evinced in satisfying the point of honour, and had subsequently to

thank his adversary, for affording a subject of caricature, so fraught with charms to allure the *vulgar* curiosity, as totally to detach the public mind, from the important measures, which, in the interim, were operating in the most efficient manner.

But if in this affair, a stigma is to be attached to the acceptor, what denunciation shall we find sufficiently opprobrious, for the challenger, for the presumptuous being, who dared to call the first servant of the State, from the helm of Government, to answer a private aggravation? Were we but for a moment to indulge in conjecture, we might infer more than *we* feel *justified* in expressing—probably more than *Mr. Tierney* would conceive the Liberty of the Press would *justify*, notwithstanding his devotion to its unlimited toleration. But the thinking part of the community, when they contemplate this proceeding, *will* surmise, and abhorrence *must* ensue.

PLUTARCH.

" The Pilot that Weather'd the Storm "

LETTER XXXVII

Hence learning struck a deeper root,
And Science brought forth riper fruit,
Hence loyalty receiv'd support,
Even when banish'd from the Court,
Hence Government join'd strength, and hence
Religion sought and found defence,
Hence England's fairest fame arose,
And liberty subdu'd her foes

CHURCHILL.

THE blessings, and advantages, of a free press, the present state of British literature, most ably attests, and we had rather tolerate its excesses, than close a single avenue to wisdom, from the irradiating influence of liberal discussion The more the human mind is enlightened, the more it is rendered susceptible of virtuous principles, with a lively sense of honour, and noble emulation, joined to the cultivation of intellect, the most amiable propensities of the heart, are insensibly imbibed the soul feels its divine essence, its desires are no longer confined to passion, and appetite but soaring to investigate the sublime creations of Omnipotence, it becomes convinced of its immortality, and prepares [illegible] mayed by the

As attaching greater permanency to good, o: pôrt, than oral tradition, the press is the best s: of society, against the iniquity of mankind. M(treacherous, and incapable of retaining the ac tions of history; our most notorious transg: therefore, in such custody, have some chance of into oblivion; but the ramifications of the p multiply the existence of human worthiness, o vity, that we live branded with ignominy, or er in honour, as examples to posterity.

Over this palladium of liberty, the tyrant m: a partial influence, and bid the strains of ad echo around his Court; or, during his hateful ex venal authors may deceive the world, by the eulogy; but with his funeral obsequies, the de vanishes, and truth, hastens to controvert the fa of mercenary sycophants. Despotism, therefor templates with awe, the indelible annals of its sion, that will arise, when its power to deface no remains; and under the apprehended execrat futurity, occasionally yields birth to the latent tions of humanity.

The purest *parian marble*, decorated by the scu nicest skill, and loaded with hyberbole, cannot terate from the roll of time, one arbitrary act Statesman; neither can the plumed hero, if, ardent pursuit of conquest, he have wantonly in dined his laurels, with the blood of innocence, c the imputation, by which the historian, will bel epitaph. The retentive pages of literature, app domestic, as well as the political, tyrant, and h

-arice, and licentious inclinations, at the expense of tegrity, and good faith, hesitates at the threshold of justice, dreading the record, which shall establish his ime, "a reproach amongst his own people." Thus, y holding up to vice, the terrors of eternal ignominy, id to virtue, the allurement of imperishable glory, we, scover the inestimable benefits, this desideratum, is ilculated to bestow upon society and learning.

But, alas! like every blessing, with which mankind endowed, it is capable of being perverted to the iost despicable purposes. What its licentiousness fected in the hands of VOLTAIRE, his royal convert, id their band of atheists, no pyramids need rise to istruct the world; the ruin of thrones, of altars, and f justice—the blood of kings, of pontiffs, and of maistrates, proclaim too evidently, their wicked infatution, and too successful conspiracy. Yet, has the xample failed, to inculcate the precepts of wisdom, or still we find advocates for those destructive reormations, which no precedent exists in history for ccomplishing, without involving with the impurities f the superstructure, foundations, which the proress of human knowledge, expansive as it hourly ecomes, cannot improve; and which, if disturbed, he labour of ages cannot cement, in their primitive orrectness, and stability.

We have already witnessed the sanguinary result of loctrines, which denominated all religion—bigotry; all aith—superstition; all moral restraint—vulgar prejulice. What a crisis in England may produce, is yet to e developed; but from the period of which I am now reating (1798), when the Editors of certain diurnal

Publications, and Mr. GILBERT WAKEFIELD, commenced that series of libellous composition, which has since been rendered a prolific source of pecuniary emolument; all the energies of the political vipers, who infest our country, have been directed, to persuade their dull fellow-subjects, that the only honest people in the empire, are to be found performing virtuous penance, under the ban of the law; that the prisons of Lincoln, and Dorchester, have more worthy martyrs, incarcerated within them, than ever the walls of Canterbury, or St. Edmunds, could boast of; that every inhabitant of Newgate, is a victim entitled to share our sympathy; and every officious demagogue destined to the Pacific Ocean, a pilgrim claiming our commiseration. That vile, and corruptible frame, also, which their philosophic predecessors, doomed eternally to the worms, is now found to possess such ineffable sanctity, that the scourge, is an instrument, hideously obnoxious, wherewith to eradicate its obstreporous propensities; and so much divinity is now attached to *the Sovereign*, or rather say the *Monster*—the *People*, that to immolate Princes, overthrow hereditary rights, and abrogate the law of God and Man, is *their* indispensable privilege, whilst for the winds of Heaven to visit a hair of their heads too roughly, is sacrilege against the dignity of human nature.

To rail, at Ministers and Cabinets—Ermine and Courtiers—Placemen and Pensioners—forms the rudiments of that school of Statesmen, who legislate in garrets, and perform military miracles, by the evolutions of their angry quills. The State Coach, and the Diadem, already share in their anathemas—rank, and

fiches awaken their enmity, and 'ere long, no doubt, a Privy Counsellor, will become the bug-bear, of the democratic nursery.

If, indeed, aristocratic distinctions, be inimical to freedom, and inconsistent with public virtue, it cannot be denied, but many Members of the Executive Government have been disqualified, by the merit of their ancestors, and a grateful Sovereign; but though the *lowly-minded, unostentatious,* republican, affects to scorn patrician rank, and splendour, it is but too obvious, that the brilliant pageantry, which the sphere of Thrones displays, and opulence gratifies, is the Philosopher's Stone, democracy is ever sighing to possess. Yet it is nevertheless true, that the majority of our *Patriots,* with means in their power, forego the acquisition of nobility, and wealth—for the turf, and the gaming-table, are insatiable, and the orgies of Anacreon and the Bacchanalian, level all distinctions. Some individuals, after neglecting every opportunity, which bountiful Nature, has placed before them, whereby to rise to celebrity, inconsistently upbraid Fortune, and presumptuously endeavour to pull her favourites down. To this purpose, therefore, Mr. PITT foresaw the labours of the discontented, were at this time about to be dedicated; and has left us, as an additional instance of his anxious solicitude, for public welfare, and tranquillity, that controuling power, over the press, which maintains the barrier between its freedom, and licentiousness.

PLUTARCH.

"The Pilot that Weather'd the Storm."

LETTER XXXVIII.

Hence flourish'd Greece, and hence a race of men
As Gods by conscious future times ador'd,
In whom each virtue wore a smiling air,
Each science shed o'er life a friendly light,
Each art was nature. Spartan valour hence
At the fam'd pass firm as an isthmus stood,
And the whole Eastern Ocean, waving far
As eye cou'd dart its vision, nobly check'd;
While in extended battle at the field
Of Marathon, the keen Athenians drove
Before their ardent band, an host of slaves.

THOMSON.

IRELAND, the most inestimable jewel, in the British diadem, had long been violently agitated by various contending interests, ostensibly for the acquisition of Catholic Emancipation. But beneath this flimsy, prostituted, veil, common sagacity plainly discerned those sinister exertions, to accomplish political independence, which, in maturity, spread the flames of rebellion over the whole island; for, under whatever denomination faction marshalled its power, whether White Boys, Orange Men, Defenders, or United Irish, dangerous spirits hovered over the array; declaiming for the participation, in executive privileges, but silently endea-

vouring to effect a consummation, of the same species of democracy, which had so long closed the Temple of Janus, on the Continent; converting her peaceful husbandmen into armed hosts, and her fields, that should have crowned the labour of the ploughshare, with golden produce, into stormy theatres, for martial lust, to parade in sanguinary laurels.

Emancipate! exclaimed the political wolves, who, under the banner of the Catholic Faith, had disciplined an hundred thousand daggers, to sacrifice to *Liberty* and *Equality*; and the Rose, the Shamrock, and the Thistle, will bloom for ever in indissoluble friendship, emulous only in loyalty, and honour. But, whilst an exclusion from civil, and political confidence, that defines certain insurmountable boundaries to talent and desert, be tenaciously maintained; when the proscriptive policy, from which they originated, no longer exists, and the consequences to be apprehended, from pious prejudice, and bigotry, are divested of their terrors, the Catholics of Ireland will continue to feel, and to act, as an expatriated community.

I by no means wish to confound the lower ranks of the Irish population, as some zealots have done, with the beasts that graze upon their mountains, or the reptiles that grovel in their bogs; nor to insinuate that they are impervious to the lights of wisdom, or indifferent to the obvious rights of man, that they are devoid of nationl pride, or hopeless of that individual achievement, which fortune sometimes beckons from the lowliest cabin, to trace before mankind, the splendid capacities of spontaneous intellect, and the potency of indefatigable genius: but I will assert that they are ingulphed in ignorance—have been stationary for ages,

in a situation very little removed from barbarism—that they are still under the influence of Romish superstitions, and whilst an enthusiast, of the school of La Fayette, or Robespierre, can be found to stimulate the mischievous concomitants of indolence, by reciting, with affected sympathy, afflictions, the people are insensible of enduring, grievances which cause them *no privations*, and *privileges* which, for them, possess no intrinsic value, and *impart no comforts*—they will *rally* with alacrity, at any signal that will proffer manumission *from criminal responsibility.*

With such pliant materials, *villainy performs its* operations with facility. We have seen it *lead its* deluded victims, in crowds, to slaughter, and to the committal of excesses, which presented no possible results that could enlighten their understandings, or ameliorate their miseries. We have seen it convert them, without a scruple of conscience, and without a moral doubt, from sworn allegiance, to perjury and treason. We have heard *it* summon them to combat, for their religion, but lead them to fight in the cause of usurpation, without an enquiry after their God, or a thought for their King.

Although *it* was *hardly* possible the hypocrisy assumed by Napper Tandy, the O'Connor's, the Emmett's, &c. &c. could impose upon individuals inclined to exert common penetration, the *friends* of these Irish malecontents, witnessed their progress in popularity, with avowed satisfaction, could *not* be persuaded to consider them in a severer light than *too energetic Patriots*, and would scarcely acknowledge their objects seditious, until the channels of the chief cities of the kingdom, were crimsoned by civil discord.

Then, but not till then, their advocates in England, saw Mr Pitt's prophetic judgment confirmed, and became convinced, by every ramification of this diabolical conspiracy, that they had taken serpents to their bosoms, whose *stings*, indeed, they had escaped, but whose *poison*, under the high testimony of such patrons, had been widely, and successfully, disseminated

Let, then, the guilty confessions—the base recantations—the detestable impeachments—the cowardly recriminations—*the treachery—adopted by the principal* leaders of the rebellion, to preserve the remnants of *their* infamous existence, operate as a caution to all political partizans, how they vouch for the loyalty of any insidious, plausible Sempronius,

" That speaks a language foreign to his heart
* * * * * * * * * * * * *
" Bellows out for Rome, and for his country
" Cloathes his feign'd zeal, in rage, in fire, in fury!
" And mouths at Cæsar, till he shakes the Senate."

Every reflecting mind must admit that the condition of *the sister kingdom has been too long neglected*, and the source of the malady which has occasioned all her misfortunes, grievously misconceived—that it is neither Catholic proscription, nor Gallic prepossession, that have entailed the heavy calamities her generations have inherited but *ignorance*, the dark, the pitiable degradation *of the rational faculties*, which, *to this day*, characterizes the Irish multitude.

In a state of barbarism, domestic ties scarcely exist, families forsake their " hearths, and their altars," through the inability of parents to cherish, and keep around them, their offspring they *consequently* become wandering colonists, or solitary itinerants, pos-

sessing neither "a local habitation, nor a name;" have no attachments—no hopes—no heritage—no promise—but worship the wind, that wafts their precarious sustenance, blow from whence it will, and kiss the hand that administers raiment, be it alien, or kindred. The ignorance of their community, and the wretchedness of their fortunes, render them the ready converts to any cause—the immediate dupes of any adventurer—and volunteers in any service, unscrupulous whether the ensigns they support, are those of justice, or infidelity. Such is *yet* the state of Ireland.

In England, a peasant, is lord of his straw-thatched castle; education has opened to him, the edifying precepts of the gospel—the blessings of social life—the duties of a good citizen—the obligations of Christianity—the curse of ambition—and the horrors of anarchy. Within the confines of his humble dominion, he views the rustic excitements to personal exertion; his children, as they advance to manhood, plough the neighbouring furrows, or attend the bleating burdens of the adjacent farms; and when old age blanches the locks of the rural Patriarch, he beguiles the hours which relaxed nature prolongs, amidst scenes of connubial happiness, in the surrounding hamlets; peopled by living miniatures of his former self, when arrayed in manly beauty, and the pride of English yeomanry. Such has *long been* the enviable state of England.

Why, then, are these blessings withheld from her inestimable neighbour? Why has she so long been suffered to remain under the dismal influence of error, and superstition, and a stranger to the common knowledge, which would enable her to discriminate between vice and virtue? Why are her more enlightened

ons, when they sojourn amongst us, considered rather
in pursuit of our riches, than desirous of enjoying our
climate, or penetrating our stores of science, and
literature? We are, it is true, pleased with their
brogue—entertained by their peculiar inconsistencies,
and in raptures with their famed hospitality, but the
moment they enter our society, we double lock our
treasuries, seclude our daughters and prepare for a
debauch Nothing beyond inebriation is attempted
to cement national regard, and friendship—to render
esteem, and brotherly kindness, reciprocal but we are
annoyed, and disgusted with the recapitulation of Irish
privileges, and English privileges—of concessions, and
boons—and relinquishments—between subjects bowing
to the same sceptre, and contributing protection and
splendour to the same throne

Mr. PITT, had imbibed from his enlightened coad-
jutor, Mr BURKE, a clear conviction, that emancipation,
as a *preliminary step*, would be attended with important
advantages, to the Sister Kingdom, he is also known
to have combated the conscientious scruples of his
Sovereign upon this delicate point, in the fervent hope
of extending that beneficence, which has marked th
progress of his protracted reign And it will finally b
seen, his inability to fulfil a pledge given, not wi
political sophistry, but in unreserved faith and hon
induced him to relinquish the attributes of power

He was convinced this measure would deprive
disaffected, of the most infallible weapon in their
session He was sensible they trembled at the
of being divested of a theme, so well calculated t
spire revolt, and treason, and which, by establi
social intercourse, and by opening the channe

wisdom, would open the channels of virtuous emulation also; destroy every hope of iniquity, and thus ultimately render the two nations united under one Monarch—by one interest—by reciprocal affection, and mutual glory.

He lived, however, but to be mortified by the reproach, which the temporary inconveniences of his embryo conception, engendered amongst the precipitate Hibernians;—and thus prejudged, he forfeited much of their esteem, and confidence; he has, however, prepared the way for his successors, and though the moment will be lamentable, which shall brighten the hopes of Ireland, it does not appear a far distant prospect, when superiority of privilege shall no longer dissever two kingdoms, which must continue inseparable, or cease to be free.

PLUTARCH

" The Pilot that Weather'd the Storm."

LETTER XXXIX.

——— Let eternal infamy pursue
The wretch, to nought but his ambition true,
Who, for the sake of filling, with one blast,
The post horns of all Europe, lays her waste.
Think yourself station'd on a tow'ring rock,
To see a people scatter'd like a flock.
Some royal mastiff panting at their heels,
With all the savage thirst a tiger feels,
Then view him, self-proclaimed in a *Gazette*,
Chief monster that has plagu'd a nation yet.

COWPER.

FROM scenes of military coercion, dispensing only sensations of horror, I turn without apology, for although the omission of tragic calamities, accompanied by every excess of misguided enthusiasm, on the one hand, and defensive retaliation, on the other, may divest my memoir of features interesting to the Reader, particularly to the [illegible], and [illegible] moments, of [illegible]

But [illegible]

his country—the sepulchre of STEINGER, who was immolated, in its defence—or the abject infatuation of their humbler countrymen, which cancelled constitutions, that had long crowned the mountains of Switzerland, with freedom, and happiness, in exchange for the speculative democracy, of the political mechanics of France? Or shall we follow the tide of revolution, through the classic fields of Italy? Witness its usurpation, accomplished over Belgia, the cradle of commercial enterprise, and once an ally, faithful and valuable to England; or view with chagrin, the destiny of Imperial Austria, suspended at the will of an unprincipled conqueror, and a yet unorganized government, whose system of finance, was plunder, and its only justification, the sword?

If these can yield us no satisfactory objects of contemplation, shall we seek them with better success, amidst the remnants of chivalry at Malta, or on the sacred plains of Palestine—contaminated by a host of infidels, equipped from the shores of Christendom, and consecrated at the altars of St. John of Jerusalem?

Alas! wherever we direct our observation, we discover the subversion of moral, religious, and political principle, *inculcated* by the writings of the royal sceptic of Prussia, the impious libeller of VERNEY, and the mysterious treason of the monstrous hierophant of illuminism—WEISHAUPT. The indefatigable zeal, of their *secret* converts, had disseminated the epidemic of regeneration, into every cabinet, conclave, citadel, and camp; polluted every domestic circle, and disturbed the peace and union of every holy refuge. An invincible influence, predominated in every human society. The Continent appeared sinking into a chaos of bar-

barism, whilst the shrine of every Martyr, and the altar of every Christian Community, trembled before the presence of atheism Monarchs, sat in Council with their assassins, and pressed those to their bosoms, commissioned to destroy them, Chiefs, reposed their confidence, in bribed associates, and their whispers escaped through a thousand channels, to the ears of their enemies At the approach of the republican standards, Kings beheld their palaces assailed, and their persons abandoned At the first flourish of their trumpets, legions vanished in ignoble flight, hesitating only for the ceremony of parley, fortresses, and bulwarks, vied in the infamy of capitulation Irresistible corruption, appeared the precursor of their march, a voluntary preference for vassalage, to await their despotic ordinances

For a moment, indeed, the vital power of this overwhelming pestilence, seemed destined to terminate its course, and its enormities, in the sands of Egypt. The legions of BUONAPARTE, already become obnoxious to their new brethren, by the sanguinary massacres and pillage, which, in every direction, distinguished their *domiciliation*, and, perishing daily from the inclemency of climate, and the predatory excursions of their Parthian like adversaries, found the last faint hopes of return to their more genial, though scarcely less precarious homes, *unexpectedly* interdicted, by the achievement of a British *Mar[illegible]*, whose resplendent fame will adorn the *[illegible] of* great and noble individuals, until the *[illegible] pro*lific Nile, shall yield up, at the *hour of general retribution*, the aggressor and the *[illegible]*

and the vanquished—who, in that tremendous contest, found a promiscuous grave, in its watery element, at Aboukir.

The Executive Departments in Paris, were also violently agitated, and the approach of another convulsion, was not in vain anticipated; but, it terminated, alas! in the permanent establishment of a tyranny, as irrelevant to the objects for which so much blood has been shed, and misery created; as it was pregnant with ruin, and disgrace, to every contiguous State, and every ancient continental Government. The prevalence of the various factions, which then composed the anomaly, constituted into a Legislative Body, was become so nicely poised, that the attachment of the military, was indispensable to a decided triumph; therefore, with an alacrity adapted to the urgency of the occasion, LUCIEN BUONAPARTE, it is conjectured, conveyed a pressing invitation, to his brother NAPOLEON, to trust his fortunes, to the favour of the winds, and seas, in order to *rescue the Republic*, by such means, as his popularity with the troops, placed at his disposal. Mortified by recent disasters, under the dilapidated walls of the insignificant fortress of Acre, the discomfited chief, was ruminating in gloomy solitude, on his fading laurels, and some desperate vengeance, to supply the sanguinary current, by which they had been reared and cherished, when the fraternal message arrived. In a moment Persia, and the whole Oriential hemisphere—the gems which were to reward his miserable pilgrimage in the desert—lost their resplendent lustre; brighter prospects, presented themselves, through the important annunciation of his watchful relative, and

waiting neither for a repetition of importunities, the forms of resignation, or recall, without a single consideration, for the associates of his victories, and dangers, he embarked, with fatal precipitation, (fatal to peace and humanity), in the silence and obscurity of night, with a mind devoted to mighty mischief, and a heart buoyant under new projects of ambition. From that hour wretchedness, and oppression, became the confirmed destiny of Europe

PLUTARCH.

"The Pilot that Weather'd the Storm."

LETTER XL.

——— He[1] like the secret eye
That never closes on a guarded world,
So sought, so mark'd, so seized, the public good,
That, self-supported, without one ally,
He aw'd his country's foes.

THOMSON.

WHILST Jacobinism, was struggling in its last agonies, in Paris, its armies were spreading its contaminating embrace, over the fairest part of Europe, with irresistible success; in defiance of the most extraordinary coalitions, the consolidated energies, of several mighty Empires, and the skilfully organized arrangements, of enlightened Politicians, and experienced Commanders; arrangements, which human reason, could not but deem *infallible*; but treason, had become the inmate of every Minister, and every Chief; an illuminati, sat at every Council—an ISCARIOT, was domesticated in every household. Thus, the genius of France, notwithstanding a Revolution, destructive to her population, by the executioner, assassination, and the sword—to her finances, by the abrogation of the principles of taxation—to her military power, by the relaxation of discipline, and the suspension of its concomitant arts, manufactures, and commerce, acquired the ascendant, wherever she presented her bayonets;

replenishing her coffers, her magazines, and every martial equipment, by the exorbitant contributions, and cruel conscriptions, for which she imparted her fraternity—her shout of onset was, the Republic; the ostensible object of victory—the liberty of man. Whilst every sword was wielded by a tyrant, every conquest reduced new kingdoms, under bondage, and incontrovertibly demonstrated "what an effectual instrument of despotism, was to be found in that grand arsenal of offensive weapons, *The Rights of Man*."*

The return of BUONAPARTE, at this period, was peculiarly auspicious to his ambition, the seat of Government, distracted by faction; the armies arrogant with conquest; and himself, their most popular leader. Time, has unfolded the consequences, which were at this moment, perceptible, to the discernment of Mr. PITT; therefore, wearied with efforts, to rescue the abject Continent, from its fallen sphere of glory, with the sensibility of *genuine* patriotism, he regretted the burdens, which had devolved upon his country, without any equivalent, except in the *integrity of its own* shores; and it now only remains for the nation to determine, after viewing the degradation, and misery, of Europe, whether he has estimated too highly, the freedom, and independence, of Britons.

The treasonable propensities, which the rebellion in Ireland had developed, called his attention to an effectual identification, of its interests, with those of Great Britain, and the adoption of such a system, of national reprocity, as should progressively establish impartial privilege, obliterate long rooted prejudices, and, in the

* BURKE

oblivion of political jealousies, bury the antipathies of religion, also.

Convinced, that the security of the two kingdoms, was only to be effected, by drawing closer, the ties of affection, and by rendering them, a people, allied by mutual service, and advantage; with a magnanimity, surpassing all his former acts, he suggested the *Union*, which in an instant, threatened, with all the terrors of a volcano, to disperse, and destroy, rather than to connect, and cement. Suffering, however, the first ebullitions of party enthusiasm, to be meliorated by a temporary victory; persuasion, and perseverance, ultimately assigned the triumph, to reason and humanity; both which principles, were conspicuous to every impartial mind, who reflected upon the judicious conception, of removing from a distracted kingdom, a Legislature, which lost all its independence, and could no longer be brought to a division, without entailing insult, to one party or another—without inspiring commotion, in the metropolis, and disseminating tumult, murder, and conflagration, round the domain of every Member, whose vote was announced inimical to the "Rights of Revolution," and the "Impunity of the Pike."

Impelled, therefore, by conscience, to a measure he felt was fraught with inestimable benefit to Ireland, he persisted to urge the Union, with all his weight and influence; but at the same time, with a pure regard to its local interests, with due respect to its Parliament, and People, and with suitable tenderness for every praise-worthy predilection; but, the rebellion had effected a breach in the grand citadel of the Empire, and although he was sensible the project was, of neces-

sity, liable to manifold objections, and encumbered with difficulties, yet ere the now cradled generation of Erin, had reached maturity, they would turn to the short retrospect with amazement, and wonder at their happiness.

Thus impressed, Mr. PITT, in concluding his introductory oration, upon this important subject, pledged himself, to carry the measure upon his own responsibility; I see, said he, the case so plainly, and I feel it so strongly, that there is no circumstance of apparent, or probable difficulty, no apprehension of unpopularity, no fear of toil or labour, which will prevent me from using every exertion, that remains in my power, to accomplish this great work, on which, I am persuaded, depends the internal tranquillity of Ireland, the interests of the British empire at large, and I hope I may add, the happiness of a great part, of the habitable world.

Ireland, Mr. PITT observed, is subject to great, and deplorable evils, which have a deep root, for they lie in the situation of the country itself, in the present character, manners, and habits, of the people, in their want of intelligence, or in plain language—their ignorance; in the unavoidable separation between certain classes, in the state of property, in its religious distinctions, in the rancour, which bigotry engenders, and which superstition rears, and cherishes.

A party in England, he continued, with eloquence carrying conviction in every sentence, might give the Throne one kind of advice; a party in Ireland, might counsel directly opposite, upon the most essential points of public welfare, upon a foreign alliance, upon the Army, upon the Navy, upon every branch of the

public service, upon trade, upon commerce, or upon any point, that might affect the prosperity of the empire at large.

Such motives, expressed with the true dignity of a Statesman, could not but operate to the fulfilment of his wishes;—and the posterity of Ireland, will bless the day, which saw them accomplished.

PLUTARCH.

"The Pilot that Weather'd the Storm."

LETTER XLI.

To be suspected, thwarted, and withstood,
Ev'n when he labours for his country's good,
To see a band, called Patriot, for no cause,
But that they catch at popular applause,
Careless of all th' anxiety he feels,
Hook disappointment on the public wheels;
With all their flippant fluency of tongue,
Most confident, when palpably most wrong,
To win no praise when well wrought plans prevail,
But to be rudely censur'd when they fail,
If these attendants, and if such as these,
Must follow *place and pow'r*, then welcome ease:
However humble and confin'd the sphere,
Happy the state that has not these to fear

COWPER.

It had been an invariable policy, with the Revolutionary Governors of France, upon ascending to their precarious power, to announce, an anxious desire for the restoration of amity; and BUONAPARTE, upon his elevation to the Consulate, did not fail, to adopt, the popular hypocrisy of his predecessors, therefore, after organizing the *fasces*, and mimic symbols, of Imperial Rome, with other judicious novelties to amuse the Parisians, he addressed a letter to his BRITANNIC MAJESTY, burdened with fulsome professions, and amusing familiarities, affecting commiseration for human suffer-

ings he never admitted into his bosom, and reprobating those National contentions, which had borne him into that "Tide in the affairs of men," from which he had gained much, and hoped every thing.

To such artful, and eccentric overtures, the SOVEREIGN, had been recommended to reply, as became his individual dignity, and consistent with that faith, which, previous to the reign of anarchy, spread a sublime radiance over the transactions of enlightened States; operating as a sacred bulwark, to the neutral, and the innocent; and softening all the asperities of war.

This circumstance, rendered the next assembly of the British Legislature, the usual scene of political inveteracy and ministerial imprecation. The accents of concord were so bewitching, that had they issued from the impious Author of the Rights of Man, the pupils of his regicidal school, or the long chronicle of wretches, who preserved their transient power, by human sacrifice—they would have charmed away every enormity, and in the estimation of *patriotism*, have blanched them white as snow; the unblemished, and immaculate pacificators, of the world, their iniquity had embroiled in warfare, not of arms alone, but of principles and passions, inimical to morality, religion, and every social virtue.

The vehement declamation of the *Opposition*, to impress the propriety, of entertaining, for serious discussion, the artful allurements of BUONAPARTE, and his familiar dæmon, TALLEYRAND, called forth more than Ciceronian eloquence from Mr. PITT; who in a speech more luminous, and argumentative, more sublime in pathos, and more incontrovertible in facts—

more elegant as a panegyric on the British Nation, for its disinterested succour, afforded to a sinking dynasty: and more severe as a philippic on those "Friends of the People" who could palliate every *revolutionary* excess, but in the acts of a Ministry, individually, or collectively, could only discover objects for censure, motives of tyranny and ambition, principles of wanton injustice and oppression—paralized his enemies, and established himself the conscientious and incorruptible guardian of his country.

His portrait of the jacobinism, and democracy, which had agitated Europe to its centre, is too radiant in truth, beauty, and manly sentiment, to be passed over by apology, *or mutilated by compression.*

The first fundamental principle of the Revolution, he observed, was, to bribe the poor against the rich, by proposing to transfer into new hands, on the delusive notion of equality, and in breach of every principle of justice, the whole property of the country. The practical application, of this principle, was to devote *the whole of that property*, to indiscriminate plunder, and to make it the foundation of a revolutionary system of finance, productive in proportion, to the misery, and desolation, which it created. It had been accompanied by an unwearied spirit of proselytism, diffusing itself over all the nations of the earth; a spirit, which could apply itself, to all circumstances, and all situations; which could furnish a list of grievances, and hold out a promise of redress, equally to all nations; which inspired the teachers of French liberty, with a hope of alike recommending *themselves, to those, who* lived under the feudal code of the German Empire; to the various states of Italy, under all their different

institutions; to the Old Republicans of Holland, and to the New Republicans of America; to the Catholics of Ireland, whom it was to release from Protestant usurpation; to the Protestants of Switzerland, whom it was to release from Popish superstition, and to the Musselmen of Egypt, whom it was to emancipate from Christian persecution; to the remote Indian, blindly bigotted to his ancient rites; and to the natives of Great Britain, enjoying the perfection of practical freedom, and justly attached to the Constitution, from the joint result of habit, of reason, and of experience. The last distinguishing feature, was a perfidy, which nothing could bind, which no tie of treaty, no sense of the principles generally received among nations, no obligation, human or divine, could restrain. Thus qualified, thus armed for destruction, the genius of the French Revolution, marched forth, the terror and dismay of the world. Every nation had, in its turn, been the witness, many had been the victims, of its principles; and it was left for Britons, to decide, whether they would compromise with such a danger, while they had yet resources to supply the sinews of war, while the heart and spirit of the country; were yet unbroken; and while they had the means, of calling forth, and supporting, a powerful co-operation in Europe.

Such principles, which display the very essence of *illuminism*, had initiated BUONAPARTE, into the career of infamy, and ambition, he had so successfully pursued; and had elevated him, to the supremacy, which had given sway, to the arrogance of a conqueror, and the presumption of an usurper. Every political metamorphosis, which had occurred in Paris, and too

numerous, and sanguinary they have shewn themselves, to be hastily obliterated, was announced to Europe as the dawn of moderation, the return of reason, and the birth of virtue, but, as frequently, had hope sickened by its short lived prospects, as frequently, had the whirlwind of desolation, accumulated fresh calamity from its momentary restraint. Should we not, then, when the " King of Terrors had seized the sceptre of control, anticipate yet more monstrous doctrines, more vindictive measures? I do now declare, said Mr PITT, that I never will negotiate with such a being but I intreat, I supplicate my countrymen, as they value

———— " the laws, the rights,
The glorious plan of power, deliver'd down
From their renowned forefathers"

to view this offspring of diabolical incubation, as the inveterate, and implacable enemy, of that precious, and enviable inheritance.

PLUTARCH.

"The Pilot that Weather'd the Storm."

LETTER XLII.

Stedfast and true to Virtue's sacred laws,
Unmov'd by vulgar censure or applause;
Let the world talk, my friend! that world we know,
Which calls us guilty, cannot make us so.
Unaw'd by numbers, follow Nature's plan;
Assert the rights, or quit the name of man.
Consider well, weigh strictly right or wrong;
Resolve not quick, but once resolv'd, be strong.
Tho' scandal would *thy Patriot* name impeach,
And rails at virtues which it cannot reach,
What honest man but would, with joy, submit,
To bleed, with CATO, or retire with PITT?

CHURCHILL.

THE disastrous retreat of SUWARROW, concluded the calamities of the year 1799. The battle of Marengo, the awful preliminary to those of the succeeding year, encircled the FIRST CONSUL, with more sycophants, and inflated him with greater arrogance; whilst the plains of Hohenlinden, witnessed the humbled crest of Austrian chivalry, which unhappy event, anticipating a few weeks only, the mortifying treaty of Luneville, exposed England, at the commencement of the nineteenth century, to the consolidated powers of France, her confederates, and her vassals.

A revival of the armed neutrality of 1780, was likewise contemplated, by the Northern Powers, and although it was an effort [illegible], ineffectual, and productive only of fresh reliance, to the naval glory of Great Britain, still it imparted an additional shade, to that despondency, which now visibly impressed the public mind, and when, amidst these untoward circumstances, rumour too truly announced the resignation of Mr. PITT, from the helm of Government, the most sanguine friends, O my country, expressed an involuntary foreboding, that the day was at length arrived, "when *thine* enemies should cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side, and lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee, and that they should not leave in thee one stone upon another."

The cause of Mr. PITT's *retirement*, had, unquestionably, an intimate connexion with the Catholic claims; but, whether his wish, extended to unqualified emancipation, or, only to a partial and progressive amelioration, of their proscriptive grievances, neither his *confidential* friends, nor himself, have thought it necessary, or prudent, to divulge. That his own generous mind, was divested of all political, and religious prejudices, cannot be doubted, and that he was a warm friend to rational equality, is well attested, by his exertions to preserve the Constitution of our ancestors, uncontaminated by the vicious novelties of illuminism. At a period, therefore, so pregnant with public calamity, when his professed object was to cement the grand societies of the State, by the institution of impartial privilege, and to combine all *its* energies,

for the mighty struggle, which to all mortal perception, was to terminate the freedom, or maintain the independence, of the nation, it is difficult to persuade ourselves, that Mr. Pitt would tamper with the feelings, of a numerous, respectable, and powerful class of the community, by parsimoniously retailing the long solicited concessions, and thus render valueless the beneficence of their Sovereign.

Whatever observations are offered upon this subject, must, of course, be received simply as conjecture; it may, however, be fairly presumed, from the characteristic foresight of this extraordinary Statesman, that he early anticipated the overthrow of the Papal throne; or such a dismemberment of its component powers, as to render its influence no longer to be feared in political affairs. Its interdicts had long since stood as a dead letter, in Ecclesiastical nomenclature. Monastic associations, once the inexhaustible auxiliaries, and active promoters, of its superstitions, aggrandizement, and tyranny, were rapidly yielding their shrines to destruction, their relics to the winds, their Saints to oblivion, and their miracles to ridicule. The revenues, which erst had purchased *kingdoms*, and subsidized the military array of half the globe, were fast escaping from the mercenary grasp, of mitred warriors, and ambitious conclaves; whilst learning, and science, were daily dispelling, the oppressive veil, which had for centuries overshadowed human intellect. Forsaken, therefore, by its devotees, shorn of its imposing pageantry, impoverished in its exchequers, and limited in its supremacy, worldly-minded apostles, no longer paralysed Christendom, by thundering in the Vatican, neither were na-

tions any more to be instigated to rebellion, by Pontifical briefs, nor seduced into disallegiance, by the mockeries of the confessional The sway of Priestcraft, like every *sublunary* empire, has a temporal destiny to accomplish, enfeebled by corruption it trembles beneath the fiat of Omnipotence, and ere another generation shall unite, with their fathers, in the mansions of death, the intruding ivy, shall predominate over every monument of Monkish glory, the owl and the bat, pollute alike, the penitential cell, and voluptuous conservatory, and all the "vain pomp and grandeur" of secular dictators, live but in records of poetic fiction, or the just delineations of history

What, then, had a resolute Statesman to dread from an enemy that rather claimed his pity, than awakened resentment? The conscientious scruples, however, of his Sovereign proved invincible, and being thereby disqualified from fulfilling, what he considered a solemn pledge of service to the Catholic Body, he voluntarily ceased to govern, when he felt himself unable to redeem a promise (whether positive, or only implied, we have no means of ascertaining) by which a most important measure of his administration had been effected.

He, therefore, withdrew from the responsibility of office, satisfied with having performed his duty, and upon reviewing the events which mark his arduous government, the British name, her integrity, her military annals, and, more especially, her naval superiority, will not be found to have receded, from the brilliant meridian, they had previously attained, but to have been augmented by the splendour of victory, increased confidence, and expanded influence

With these results before him, observed Mr. DUNDAS, the Minister, who for so many years has guided the councils of his country, and superintended the conduct, and operations, of a war, unexampled in its fluctuations, and perverse circumstances, need not be afraid to transmit his name to posterity, as a companion to that of his illustrious father.

PLUTARCH.

"The Pilot that Weather'd the Storm."

LETTER XLIII

Where is the heartfelt worth and weight of soul,
Which labor could not stop, nor fear controul?
Where the known dignity, the stamp of awe,
Which, half abash'd, the proud and venal saw?
Where the calm triumphs of an honest cause?
Where the delightful task of just applause,
Where the strong reason, the commanding tongue,
On which the Senate fir'd, or trembling hung?
All vanish'd ——————

AKENSIDE

THE Administration which succeeded Mr. PITT, adopted his principles, and pursued his measures; but the fire, the spirit, the conception, of their great original, was gone, and all was vapidness and imbecility.

The memorable *russe de guerre*, of the intrepid NELSON at Copenhagen, and the invincible valour, of the British army, in Egypt, having, in a great degree, obliterated the gloomy presages which characterized the close of Mr. PITT's labours, so should they have animated the new Cabinet, to a tone of confidence, and superiority, a contrary disposition, however, bordering upon servility, marked all their proceedings, and either yielding to panic, or ambitious of popularity,

they entered into a negotiation, eminent only for the reproach it had entailed upon English diplomacy, and on the 25th of March, 1802, concluded a definitive Treaty of Peace, very deserving of the bold epithets, applied to it by Mr. WYNDHAM—"It was merely an armed truce, entered upon, without necessity, negotiated without wisdom, and concluded without honour."

Mr. PITT, however, as warm in friendly feeling, as energetic in his political attitude, although he considered the terms less creditable than might have been obtained, approved the peace, and advocated the cause, of the impotent men who had effected it, in consideration, no doubt, of the difficulties, their slender talents, had to encounter—the proud conqueror with whom they had to contend—and from a perfect persuasion of their upright, and honest, intentions. The desire of peace, he had long observed, had become a prominent sentiment, in the public mind—the idea of their hopes being realized, he foresaw, would be too gratifying to excite much cavil upon the nice points of equity—a conjecture, of which the subsequent words, of Mr. SHERIDAN, authenticate the correctness: "It is a peace" exclaimed that lively orator, "of which the people are all fond, but none of them proud."

It was, in truth, a peace, by which; France, accomplished every protestation, she had made in the rhapsody of revolutionary zeal. The Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees, had become the boundaries, for which, in that awful period, she had stipulated as in puerile bravado; and beyond them, the nations bowed in homage to their irresistible and insatiable neighbour. The expatriated BOURBONS, were erased from the regal

dynasties of Europe, and compelled to fly from asylum, to asylum, at the dictum of a child of fortune, whose youth their munificence had cherished, and irradiated with science, and knowledge

England, in the mean time, had seen her blood, and treasure, dissipated in vain, her allies deprived of their political preponderance; and her independence endangered, by a line of hostile coast, anxious to emulate her naval greatness, destroy her commerce, and expunge her name, from the list of nations

Mr PITT had certainly been convinced, in his own mind, that the pacific professions of France, were entirely hypocritical, war, in her existing situation, was the predilection, as well as the interest, of her Rulers. It was only by military coercion, her recent usurpations could be preserved, and it was only by the pillage of her neighbours, that her armies could be remunerated, for their services Perhaps, therefore, the most advantageous peace for France, was the most politic method of proving to the English nation, her hostile disposition, for if honourable, and advantageous terms, could hold no influence, over her wayward Councils, how could a system of rigid equivalent, retain her faithful to her stipulations? The experiment, however, if so regarded by Mr PITT, had nearly sacrificed the country—from the precipitate economy—the sweeping retrenchments—and the inconsiderate reformations, of the new *Administration. Her navy was instantly dis*mantled, to the lowest ordinary establishment, her arsenals emptied, by public sales, of her maritime stores, the supplies of every article necessary for ship-building, curtailed or wholly suspended, her army disbanded, her warlike institutions of every denomination, reduced

whilst, in every official department, parsimony crept in, and prudence was abandoned.

The reverse system was adopted, and ardently pursued by the FIRST CONSUL, who was extending his power, increasing his vassals, rewarding his sycophants with crafty munificence, recruiting the casualties in his armies, and replenishing his treasures; thus, having succeeded in abrogating every contract of the peace himself, with true republican effrontery, and designed offence, he demanded an explicit compliance from England, wantonly insulting her Ambassador, and renewed *the war, with an imperious declaration,* that he would reduce *Great Britain to a province of the* Republic, or render it—

"———————— a wilderness again,
Peopled with wolves, its old inhabitants."

It was the declaration of a demon, prompted by the presumption of a tyrant, and the vanity of a conqueror.

PLUTARCH.

" The Pilot that Weather'd the Storm."

LETTER XLIV.

B.—What nature wants, commodious gold bestows;
'Tis thus we eat the bread another sows
P.—But how unequal it bestows, observe,
'Tis thus we riot, while who sow it starve,
What nature wants, (a phrase I much distrust,)
Extends to luxury, extends to lust;
Useful I grant, it serves what life requires;
But, dreadful, too the dark assassin hires
B.—Trade it may help, society extend,
P.—But lures the pirate, and corrupts the friend
B.—It raises armies in a nation's aid,
P.—But bribes a Senate, and the land's betray'd
In vain may heroes fight, and patriots rave,
If secret gold sap on from knave to knave

POPE.

No sooner had the transitory delusion of Peace, vanished, than the talents of Mr. PITT, were solicited, by the lately inaugurated Premier, and his Colleagues, to repel the gathering storm; but, it being apparent, that it was the club of ALCIDES, they wished to possess, without exalting its potent owner, to his merited sphere, of political influence, and legislative consequence, he declined the invitation, with becoming dignity, and the regret, of a loyal patriot. Conscious, however, of the accumulating dangers, Mr. ADDING-

TON and his friends, wisely retreated from a responsibility, to which their experience was inadequate; and, on the 12th of May, 1804, Mr. PITT, was reinstated, in that elevated situation, which he was peculiarly formed by nature to adorn.

Desirous, at so important an epocha, of combining the strength, and energies, of the Empire, he became anxious to embrace in his New Administration, every contemporary, conspicuous for ability, or possessing the partial affections of the People. There, existed, however, to this generous arrangement, insurmountable obstacles; time, had not yet erased from the mind of his MAJESTY, *the vehement exultations, which polluted* the lips, of the advocates of *Liberty*, at the sanguinary triumphs, of republicanism, and anarchy; exultations which, as a Sovereign, he could not but deem, a prohibition, to a seat at Monarchical Councils, whilst the genius and wisdom, of the country, admitted of a selection.

Thus, though Mr. PITT was disposed to cultivate their friendship, and admit his rivals, to an equal participation, in official honours, the voice, which denounced the coalition, increased the enmity, of his antagonists, who he sincerely wished, might be indulged, with an opportunity, of contributing their aid, to the salvation of the State. The reasonable prejudice, and penetration, of the Monarch, however, subsequent examples have convinced us, providentially checked the philanthropy of the Minister.

The exertions of Mr. PITT, were, in every respect, commensurate with the Herculean objects, of BUONAPARTE, who had now consummated every Republican

absurdity, by placing on his brow, that "polished perturbation" which had been so often pronounced the bane of freedom, the symbol of despotism, and the antipathy of every virtuous citizen. Alas! scarce were the execrations silenced, which accompanied the ashes of a lenient, and innocent Prince, to the ignominious grave, that was to bury for ever the remembrance of Regal Power; than, with barbarous, unjust, and detestable volatility, we find the actors of that melancholy tragedy, pouring forth their perjured adulations, at the footstool of a Tyrant.

But, notwithstanding one half of Europe, thought it no degradation, to share the sunshine, with the modern Bajazet, *the genius of* Mr. Pitt, *still thwarted the* boundless views, of his ambition, by a confederacy, which would have broken his aspiring pinions, had not the sordid principles of Austrian Cabinets, Austrian Officers, and Austrian *Courtezans*, sold him victory at Ulm and Austerlitz, and demonstrated, at Presburg,

"How quickly nature falls into revolt,
When gold becomes her object!"

It is truly mortifying to trace, from the earliest dawn of the French Revolution, the extreme depravity, that has frustrated every attempt, to check the progress of those destructive maxims, which were promulgated, as the basis of its heterogeneous superstructure, and that have unhappily consummated every mischief which the worst passions, of man, could suggest. Yet must the breast of the individual, whose life was so long devoted, and ultimately sacrificed, for the glory of his country, have received infinite consolation, from the recollection, that the Monarch of that Empire,

over which he had presided, was the only Potentate in Europe, who had not been compelled, either by foreign tyranny, or domestic rebellion, to become a fugitive—a captive—a vassal—or a victim, to that system of extermination, which has been practised against the lineal heirs of Royalty.

That the era of WILLIAM PITT has been portentous, let prostrate Europe witness; and so enveloped in mystery, so unexampled in insidious policy, have been the machinations of our implacable antagonist, that the sagacity of Ulyssess, must have been baffled in any *attempt to penetrate, or seduce, that inquisitorial confidence*, amidst whose Cimmerian shades, the most extraordinary projects have been conceived, that ever burst upon the world.

Aspiring to the summit of human vanity, we have seen an individual, by one intrepid action, give organization to the mishapen embryos, and distorted systems, which had emanated from the chaos of anarchy, and republican phrenzy; and subsequently, by a train of bold enterprizes, progressively mature a despotism more oppressive in its nature, and *more subversive of the rights of man, than that Government*, bloated with corruption as it undoubtedly was, which the enthusiasm of evil passions had so recently consigned to indiscriminate annihilation.

These passions, however, he by no means eradicated, or wished *to* eradicate, but only disciplined and brought *them* into subordination, under a rigid military oligarchy, which by gigantic strides, ultimately endowed its idol, with imperial sway, and placed at his absolute discretion, the resources, and destinies, of the kingdom;

whilst the same people, who had awakened the attention of the world, by their irresistible fervour in the cause of freedom, stood idly by, and saw, with unaccountable apathy, the chains fabricated, which were to bind them to the service of a foreign usurper.

Previous to this period, faint beams of returning repose, to the harrassed nations of the Continent, occasionally brightened the dismal prospective, and the harrassed exiles of the stock of Bourbon, anticipated at intervals, a restoration to their polluted palaces; but these beams of hope speedily vanished, before that awful luminary, who has so severely taught mankind, what a mortal dare attempt against the laws of Heaven, and what he can achieve over the best energies of man.

Thus France, after professing to be inspired by the sacred flame of liberty, and denouncing the pomp and pageantry, of thrones, submits, with strange inconsistency, and contemptible resolution, to the dominion of an alien, whose passion is war, whose moral properties are mutable, and who appears gifted with every terrific attribute that can bind mankind to his insatiable ambition. His earthly being was surely never created with feelings, or surrounded with *Councils*, so particularly calculated, to [illegible] in the [illegible]. His dreams give him [illegible] visionary grandeur, which [illegible] fertile and [illegible] readily produces instruments to accomplish; his slumber is the [illegible] of a [illegible] waking breath is [illegible].

I conceive then, before [illegible] the [illegible] unfavourable to the administration of Mr. Pitt [illegible] estimate [illegible] formed [illegible] to take up arms, of [illegible] against [illegible]

contend, and of the consequences, which have resulted from an opposite line of duty, to that which he selected.

What *had* been, observed a great Statesman now no more, is unknown, what *is*, appears; and I will beg leave, to ask the harsh deprecators, of the political conduct, which has been adopted, since the first eruption of the revolutionary volcano, whether any treaty of amity, the strictest principles of neutrality, nay, whether the most abject obedience to the will of France, and the most rigid adherence to her proscriptive decrees, has been able to *preserve to the continental* States, even the shadow of independence? Let me ask them, whether the finances of those States have not been put in requisition, to supply the exigencies of their conquerors; their population exhausted, to comply with his military conscriptions; and their public, and private, edifices, pillaged, to decorate the Galleries, and Museums of Paris?

Can Prussia, who was the first to fraternize with republican France, controvert these facts? Has Holland experienced any *commiseration for all her sacrifices?* Can unoffending Switzerland any longer exult in her characteristic innocence and tranquillity? Are the exiles of Portugal any instance of Gallic moderation? Will Spain acknowledge the faith of her ally? Or will the automaton Potentates, who perform periodical homage at the Thuilleries, for their golden rigols of dishonour, bear testimony to the mild ordinances, the justice, and the integrity of their Imperial, and Royal Master?

It is true, England, by professing open hostility, has accumulated heavy incumbrances—has buried the

flower of her armies—and perceives, notwithstanding, every shore in hostile array against her. But could her wealth have been more advantageously dispensed? Had it not been so devoted, might not BUONAPARTE have now possessed the keys of her Exchequer? Could her soldiers, fall more gloriously, than round the standard of patriotism? And surely it were better that the whole earth should declare eternal enmity against her, than that a scion from the Dynasty of NAPOLEON, should contaminate the British Diadem.

PLUTARCH.

"The Pilot that Weather'd the Storm."

LETTER XLV.

Great Deity! who in thy hands doth bear
That iron sceptre which poor mortals fear;
Who, wanting eyes thyself, respectest none,
And neither spar'st the laurel or the crown!
O Thou! who ev'ry eye that sees the light,
Closest for ever in the shades of night!
Goddess! attend, and hearken to that grief,
To which thy pow'r alone can give relief.

BUCKINGHAM.

WHATEVER could aggravate the unhappy complexion of the times, seemed coalesced, to disturb the latter days, of the preserver of his country. The assembling of Parliament, in 1805, displayed his careworn mind, his wasted form, and his declining constitution; but the more, the physical energies of the man were enervated, the more poignant against the minister, became the "stings and arrows" dipped in the venom of opposition.

The last seeds of rebellion, had but just been crushed in Ireland, by the execution of the homicides, who had immolated the Chief Justice, to their sanguinary vengeance, than, as if to show the world an instance of monstrous inconsistency, the Catholic Question, was precipitated for discussion, in the Imperial Parliament. Success, its movers were sensible, was not even preca-

rious, but, to harrass the Premier, to implicate him in some pledge, or compromise, or to lure that secret from his bosom, which had admitted his return to office, to their discomfiture, their mortification, and despair, was an end, that, in their estimation, would justify any means. Foiled, however, in every assault, they deemed it not unworthy, to advocate the cause of traitors, and assassins, and thus preserved alive the embers of rebellion, the horrors of civil war, and the miseries of commotion, but neither insinuation, nor surmise, could effect a purpose, which Mr PITT, felt it his duty to oppose, or extract from him, sentiments, which the times warranted, he should preserve dormant, until days more auspicious, to political reformations his disposition was already well understood, but judgment and inclination, are frequently at variance, and policy rejects what humanity dictates

To these vexatious incidents, succeeded attempts, equally futile, to censure his admirable system of Finance, the subsidiary arrangements, which had so long kept the calamities of war, remote from our shores, and that discretion, which he had assumed occasionally, but wisely, to preserve public confidence, and avert commercial embarrassment.

The ingratitude of the objects of his patronage, his bounty, and his friendship, followed, and, lastly, the impeachment of his firm adherent, the colleague of all his arduous trials, his counsellor in difficulty, his sheet anchor in the storm His case he knew was that of innocence, his intentions required neither eloquence, ingenuity, or quibble to exculpate, but, as a friend, he endeavoured to protect him from premature

condemnation, and to secure for him, the privilege of being heard, before conviction.

This, was a blow to the sensibility of Mr. PITT, that he did not long survive—the cold influence of death, already chilled the fountain, of his Godlike spirit, and cast a gloom over his declining hours, that hurried the catastrophe, which opened the doors of promise, at once to every foreign and domestic enemy; to a cabal, impoverished by the dice-box, and dissipation; to a race of Statesmen, distracted, amidst the duties of office, by the importunities of ruined creditors; and the incessant appeals of turbulent adherents, who sought admittance, into that elysium, which, in their infuriated harangues, had been denominated the polluted region, in which Kings, imbibe the maxims of tyranny, Ministers the principles of oppression, where Justice suspends a partial balance, and Nature abandons all her affections.

Thus terminated the public labours, of the most honest Statesman, that ever guided the helm of the British Government.

IT is not probable, that any revelation will disclose to us, what might have been the result of a contrary system of politics, to that, which he necessarily adopted; but, if, as his advocates firmly believe, his prescience discovered, amidst the violent ebullitions of public feeling, which subverted the throne of CAPETS, a harbinger, of all the disasters, which have followed, then there surely requires no other justification of his measures; no other claim is necessary, to pronounce him worthy of an apotheosis, and the everlasting veneration of Britons.

If, on the contrary, we contemplate him as the evil genius of his country, as a being destined to conduct us, from the summit of worldly greatness, to the depths of human misery—as the bane of our prosperity, peace, and glory—upon what individual, can we, with any semblance of justice, bestow our maledictions, for his elevation to that dangerous power, he so long directed

The prepossession of the public, in favour of the descendant of their lamented Chatham, called him almost from his cradle to the helm of State, and whilst he retained his extraordinary, and unprecedented influence, over an irresistible majority, of the nation, the Monarch, with commendable prudence, avoided the responsibility of his dismissal Let not the ascendancy of Mr PITT, therefore, be ascribed to the pertinacious predilection of the SOVEREIGN, but to those favourable sentiments, in the enlightened classes of society, to which, as "The Father of his People," he has ever shewn an anxious disposition to concede. For no sooner, be it remembered, was an inclination expressed for pacific accommodation, than the Executive Government was confided to Legislators, with the reputation of more moderate and pliant tempers, who hastily concluded a *truce*, the result of which, confirmed the policy of their predecessor, and their own inefficiency A second change becoming, in consequence, indispensible, still attentive to the public sentiment, his MAJESTY did not hesitate to admit into his Councils, the decided opponents of his long tried servant, but the efforts of these individuals were equally fruitless—they retired from office, without showing any inclination, to deviate from that course of politics, which they had so severely

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"The Pilot that Weathered the Storm."

LETTER [illegible]

Yes, [illegible]
The [illegible], and [illegible],
The [illegible].
O'er the [illegible]
[illegible], a [illegible]
[illegible] the [illegible]

[illegible]

mations of Mr. [illegible] troul exercised over public [illegible]?

Have our privileges [illegible] independence of our Judges, [illegible] warrants, and religious [illegible] received no [illegible] the Slave Trade?

Were our Fields of [illegible] more exuberant? [illegible] Philanthropy, [illegible] Island been [illegible] home for the exile, an asylum for the [illegible] true we feel the [illegible] horrors of war, and I will not [illegible] by depicting them. [illegible] which has desolated half the [illegible] dreadful influence.

The mighty [illegible] questionably involved the country in [illegible] apparently [illegible] powers, and if experience [illegible] their being so, then he may, [illegible] ed with an [illegible] treasures

But whilst [illegible] such apparent indifference, all [illegible] him a man of [illegible] and disinterested principles. [illegible] institute the most scrupulous examination of the [illegible] pences he had incurred, but, [illegible] investigation, and, whilst [illegible] temporary, or intended so to be, he [illegible] economy and retrenchment [illegible]

official accounts, as to subdue the baneful system of procrastination, which had so long prevailed, and to which simplification we are indebted for the exposure of that delinquency, which has recently been brought to light. His individual interest, as Prime Minister, he never hesitated to abolish, or transfer, for the public service; and his antipathy to sinecures, and corrupt sources of influence, has been rendered perfectly conspicuous. That which with former Ministers, was totally imperceptible, he has made obvious, by the annual statements, produced for the check and animadversion of Parliament; a regulation peculiarly estimable, as no description of patronage can remain concealed, no emolument be extracted privily from the public purse.

He was, upon every occasion, the warm advocate of the most candid proceedings, always acquiescing in the right of the People, and of their Representatives, to discuss the conduct of their rulers; deeming the exercise of such privilege, one of the most salutary guards of that freedom which is our pride, our glory, and the great source of our prosperity.

I am inclined to think, therefore, the severe alternatives he occasionally adopted, must be attributed more to the turbulence of the times, and the very precarious tone of public sentiment, than to any despotic inclination; and I am drawn to this conclusion, not more from the disinterestedness of his conduct, than from that wise foresight, which he displayed in his system of finance, and the prudent provisions he adopted to counteract the fatal operations of a profuse expenditure.

But Mr. Pitt held the vulgar popularity too muc' in contempt to become the candidate for *Charitabl*

Donations and *Corporation Boxes*, circumstances, I fear, that will ever deprive him of the shouts of the multitude, or the acclamations of the hustings But it is for the nation to judge, whether the silent labours of such a man, or the clamours of noisy enthusiasts, be the most efficacious.

"In the machine of State," Mr. ROSE has observed, "*are many movements, with which the people are not* acquainted, and the Statesman who guides them, must often serve the people faithfully, and effectually, by acting contrary to the opinions of what they conceive to be best suited to their service. A virtuous Statesman, must act from higher motives than either his own immediate interest, or his own immediate reputation his interest, a patriot Statesman must remember, is that of his country—his reputation must often be left to the justice of posterity."

Let us, then, in closing this subject, invoke the shade of our great departed Senator, to inspire those who now rule over us, with sentiments congenial with his own, we shall then, at all events, terminate our struggles with magnanimity, and leave tyranny no cause for exultation

PLUTARCH

FINIS

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